

THE C4 NEWSLETTER

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THE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC MEDAL

Featured in this issue

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Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Charlie Rohrer.

Dues are \$25-regular (including 1st class mailing of the Newsletter); \$10 for junior members (under 18).

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Did we have fun at EAC in Dallas? You bet we did! There was much to do for colonial enthusiasts...in addition to all the coins to be found on the bourse floor, there were awesome exhibits, the Colonial Happening on Thursday night, Roger Siboni's presentation Friday night, the C4 Membership Meeting Saturday morning, John Kraljevich's talk on Fugio Coppers, and a genuine home-made Texas Barbecue for all C4 members Saturday night at the home of Craig McDonald. There were many other events and social times available to all.

Roger Siboni was the featured speaker at the Friday evening educational forum. Roger presented a chronological history lesson about North America from the founding of Jamestown up to the Presidency of Thomas Jefferson. Each major event was accompanied by images of coins and medals, which were projected on a screen. I have hopes that this educational event can be recorded under studio conditions and that C4 could offer a DVD to clubs and organizations to present to their members.

The EAC Literary Award was presented to two C4 members: Eric Newman for his book, "The United States Fugio Copper Coinage of 1786" and our C4 Editor Syd Martin for his book, "The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood - 1722-1724". Congratulations are in order for Eric and Syd, for jobs well done!

The week after EAC, C4 held a joint Regional Meeting with EAC at the Garden State Numismatic Association Convention in Somerset, NJ. I again saw many friends there, including Chris Young who I almost didn't recognize. As a GSNA Officer, I was working much of the time, but I was able to break free long enough to purchase a colonial bill from Georgia, which completes my collection of one bill from each of the 13 colonies.

You will probably receive this newsletter after the event is history, but as I write the ANA Baltimore Convention is two weeks away. There are a number of educational events, meetings and a C4 Membership Meeting that I'm looking forward to attending. Before you know it, the C4 Convention will be upon us. Plans and preparations are being made behind the scenes to present another memorable event.

In closing, please read through this newsletter carefully for other information and announcements. I've talked about conventions above in hopes I might inspire some to attend one for the first time. You may think that if you don't know anyone, that you won't have fun - NOT TRUE! First, introduce yourself to me - then you'll know someone! You won't be able to not have fun... look through the schedule and attend a few educational events. Look for dealer tables that specialize in colonial coins. You'll meet some of the nicest people on both sides of these tables. Maybe bring a couple coins that you have questions about or you'd like to show to others. The time will go fast and you won't believe it's time to go home!

Have FUN!

Ray Williams

EARLY U.S. AUCTION SALES CONTAINING COLONIAL COINS: PART THREE – THE EARLY CIVIL WAR YEARS

(David F. Fanning)

Introduction and Background

On April 12, 1861, forces of the newly formed Confederate States of America launched an attack on Fort Sumter, a U.S. military installation located in Charlestown Harbor off the coast of South Carolina. Though the fort was occupied by only about 100 men, they withstood a day and a half of shelling before Major Robert W. Anderson, the commanding officer, was forced to surrender. The assault began the American Civil War, in which over 600,000 soldiers and about 80,000 civilians were killed. Transportation routes were disrupted, commerce badly affected, and hard money quickly began to disappear from circulation.¹ For the next four years, little was stable or assured in American life.

One would expect, in such circumstances, that a leisurely and scholarly pursuit like numismatics would be put aside to await better times. A hobby may have seemed like an indulgence in a time when so much was at stake and so much devastation was being wrought. Surprisingly, however, numismatics thrived during the War between the States, with auction sales becoming more frequent, the number of professional dealers multiplying, and various publications proceeding apace. Martin Gengerke² lists 94 auction sales with numismatic content as having taken place in the United States prior to the Civil War; during the War itself, 108 were held, which seems counterintuitive at best.

Why did the hobby not only continue but actually thrive during the war? There are several possible explanations. On a psychological level, people perhaps felt the need for a diversion more acutely. On a strictly material level, there were fewer products available for purchase in the marketplace; as rare coins were pre-existing products with a good store of value, putting some of one's money into them was not a bad financial move.³ Third, while the war disrupted many parts of the economy, it stimulated others, making some wealthy in the process. Finally, as the war threatened the nation itself, its form of government and the ideals upon which it was founded, interest in preserving material representations of U.S. history was increased. Indeed, this last factor meant that coins, medals and tokens of our early historical periods were very avidly sought. Far from being in danger of perishing, the nascent numismatic scene flourished during the Civil War.

This is not to imply that there were not ways in which the hobby was disrupted. A number of prominent numismatists were among those who fought in the war, including Augustus B. Sage, Ebenezer Locke Mason, Dr. Mark W. Collet, William Leggitt Bramhall, Richard Wistar Davids and Joseph N.T. Levick.⁴ Collet was killed in action on May 3, 1863, during the Battle of Chancellorsville, while Davids perished on July 2, 1863, during the second day of the Battle of Gettysburg. Bramhall sustained a serious head injury at the Battle of the Wilderness (May 6, 1864) that continued to affect him after the war; while he apparently continued to collect coins, his active involvement in

the hobby more or less came to an end.⁵ While Sage survived the conflict, he does not seem to have retained his interest in numismatics, and spent the years following it in other pursuits. With the deaths of Collet and Davids, and the loss of Bramhall's and Sage's contributions, the numismatic field was much the poorer.

On a happier note, early coin dealer Ebenezer Locke Mason (Figure 1) and numismatist Joseph N.T. Levick (Figure 2) both survived the war and, indeed, continued their numismatic activities during their service. Mason (1826–1901) served during the conflict as an “aeronaut,” a soldier who would ascend into the air in a balloon and



Figure 2 — Pioneering numismatist Joseph N.T. Levick, whose activities spanned the period from before the Civil War to after the turn of the twentieth century.

report upon the activities of the enemy troops he could see from this vantage point. This was an unusual assignment, and Mason likely was drawing upon prior experience with hot-air balloons gained during his career as a traveling showman in the 1850s. Mason had turned his professional attention to coins shortly before the outbreak of hostilities. J.N.T. Levick (c. 1828–1908) was active in numismatic circles before the war, having consigned coins to an auction by Edward Cogan in 1859. He enlisted on June 15,

1861 in the Union Army, where he soon became an officer with the 70th New York Volunteers (Infantry). He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on May 6, 1862 and eventually attained the rank of Captain. Mason and Levick were friends, having been acquainted since 1855.⁶ In the September 1882 issue of *Mason's Coin Collectors' Magazine*, Mason recalled meeting up with Levick during the war:

While up in the balloon about 150 feet high ... through the long rows of soldiers attracted by the unusual spectacle, his [Mason's] attention was attracted to an officer in a bright blue uniform and silk sash, waving his sword and crying at the top of his voice: “Hello! Is that Ned Mason up there?” By the use of a field glass we discovered our coin collecting friend, whose appearance had changed considerably, and whose title was Lieut. Levick, of Sickles' Brigade, New York. The next salutation was, “Have you got any coins?” We replied: “Come up to our balloon camp, front of Yorktown, and see.” The next morning, bright and early, the orderly announced “Lieut. Levick wishes to see Capt. Mason,” and our curiosity tent was honored by a visit from our old chum.⁷



Figure 1 — Early coin dealer Ebenezer Locke Mason of Philadelphia, as depicted in his “Photo-graphic Gallery of the Coin Collectors of the United States” (published in the March 1869 issue of *Mason's Monthly Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine*).

While this break from combat must have been welcome to Levick and Mason, it goes without saying that most numismatic activity during the conflict was farther removed from the battlefield.⁸ The Civil War years saw few periodicals or books published on coins, but they witnessed a considerable growth in auctions. This growth was not only quantitative, but qualitative: the sales being held were, speaking broadly, of much better material and were much more ably catalogued. The standard work on nineteenth-century numismatic auction catalogues is John W. Adams's masterly 1982 volume, *United States Numismatic Literature, Volume One: Nineteenth-Century Auction Catalogs*.⁹ In this work, Adams grades the content of the sales he enumerates: a sale may be given a B in large cents, an A- in early silver, a C in fractional currency, and so on. In addition, each sale is assigned an overall grade, based on the quality of both the contents and the cataloguing. Out of the hundreds of nineteenth-century sales listed by Adams, only 34 receive an A for colonials. Table 1 lists these sales, with information on cataloguers, dates and consignors for each. These are the cream of the crop for colonial enthusiasts.¹⁰

Perhaps the most striking thing about Table 1 is that of the 34 sales listed therein, a solid 10 of them take place during the Civil War. In no other four-year period throughout the century would such a number of amazing sales of colonial coins take place. Just when one would expect the hobby to come to a grinding halt, it instead takes off.

William Strobridge's First Sale

William Harvey Strobridge (Figure 3) was born on January 9, 1822, in Barnet, Vermont. He moved to New York City in 1853, where he was a representative for Fairbanks scales, a job that took him shortly before the war to Baltimore, Maryland. Following the assault on Fort Sumter, he returned to New York, soon setting himself up in the coin trade.¹¹ Strobridge enjoyed a fine reputation: Adams describes him as "easily the best 19th century student/cataloguer of ancient coins and probably of European coins as well."¹² His obituary in the *ANS Proceedings* of 1899 recalls him as being "ever courteous, refined in his tastes, and scholarly in his attainments."¹³ The series of 29 auction catalogues issued by him are of exceptional quality (though they do include a handful of non-numismatic sales).¹⁴ Tragically, the rigors of quickly attributing coins and writing often very lengthy catalogues (his sale of the Stenz collection ran to 3,871 lots) robbed Strobridge of his sight, and he was forced to retire in 1878, with more than two decades of his life remaining. His son, T.R. Strobridge, published eight auction catalogues afterwards, presumably with some input from his now-blind father, but they are unremarkable efforts and underscore the loss to the hobby suffered by Strobridge's plight.¹⁵



Figure 3 — William H. Strobridge was one of the most sophisticated of the early American coin dealers. (Courtesy of George F. Kolbe.)

Strobridge's first sale was of coins from the William A. Lilliendahl collection. Lilliendahl was "actively engaged in mercantile business," according to Emmanuel Joseph Attinelli,

**Table 1: Nineteenth-Century Numismatic Auction Catalogues Rated A for Colonials
by Adams (1982)**

Catalogue Issuer	Date	Collection
William H. Strobridge	May 26–28, 1862	William A. Lilliendahl
W. Elliot Woodward	November 11–14, 1862	Rev. Joseph M. Finotti
Bangs	January 19–23, 1863	Benjamin Haines*
William H. Strobridge and W. Elliot Woodward†	March 24–26, 1863	Henry A. Smith
Edward Cogan	April 7–8, 1863	
W. Elliot Woodward	April 28–May 1, 1863	Brooks, Colburn, Finotti, Field, Shurtleff
W. Elliot Woodward	October 20–24, 1863	Jeremiah Colburn
W. Elliot Woodward	May 17–21, 1864	John F. McCoy
W. Elliot Woodward	October 18–22, 1864	Levick, Emery, Ilsley, Abbey
W. Elliot Woodward	March 20–25, 1865	Bache et al.
W. Elliot Woodward	December 19, 1865‡	Bertsch et al.
W. Elliot Woodward	October 28–November 2, 1867	Joseph J. Mickley
Ebenezer Locke Mason	October 4–7, 1870	William Fewsmith
Edward Cogan	February 27–March 3, 1871	Gov. Packer
William H. Strobridge and W. Elliot Woodward	December 5–7, 1871	Dr. Charles Clay
John W. Haseltine	December 18, 1872	
William H. Strobridge	1873	Seavey/Parmelee§
W. Elliot Woodward#	February 23–26, 1874	
William H. Strobridge	June 12, 1876	Parmelee/Brevoort
John W. Haseltine	May 21–24, 1879	Lyman Wilder
W. Elliot Woodward	October 13–16, 1880	Ferguson Haines
John W. Haseltine	February 23–24, 1882	T.B. Gregory
S.H. and H. Chapman	June 20–24, 1882	Charles I. Bushnell
John W. Haseltine	June 27–29, 1883	Sylvester S. Crosby
W. Elliot Woodward	January 8–10, 1884	Heman Ely
Ed Frossard	October 2–3, 1884	Ed Frossard
W. Elliot Woodward	April 2–3, 1885	Clark, Blake and Cochrane
W. Elliot Woodward	April 27–29, 1886	J.S. Twining
Harlan P. Smith	June 21, 1886	Dr. Edward Maris+
W. Elliot Woodward and Ed Frossard (Vicksburg I)	May 21–25, 1888	George M. Klein
New York Coin and Stamp	January 20–24, 1890	R. Coulton Davis
New York Coin and Stamp	June 25–27, 1890	Lorin G. Parmelee
S.H. and H. Chapman	August 10–11, 1893	C.T. Whitman
S.H. and H. Chapman	December 16–17, 1895	Richard B. Winsor

* catalogued by the consignor

† while Woodward was involved with the
sale, Strobridge appears to be the author

‡ and days following

§ descriptive catalogue of the

Seavey collection purchased by Parmelee

catalogued by Strobridge

+ catalogued by Dr. Maris

who goes on to describe him as a “gentleman of affable and genial disposition, abounding in good humor, of very sanguine temperament, with fine cultivated tastes, which directed him promptly in the selection of fine or rare pieces for his cabinet.”¹⁶ Strobridge and Lilliendahl already had a numismatic relationship by this time, as Strobridge had sold Lilliendahl the bulk of his collection of ancient coins. Indeed, Strobridge would conduct two sales from the Lilliendahl collection, both of them excellent: the first on May 26–28, 1862, and a second on December 15–17, 1863. While the latter sale earns Adams’s highest praises (an A+ for overall content), it is the 1862 sale (which earns an A in colonials) that is of interest to us here.

The sale’s early lots are relatively uninteresting, featuring a largely mediocre offering of U.S. federal coins interspersed with the occasional exceptional piece. Some strong cents and early proofs are to be found, but little else worth mentioning. A *Libertas Americana* medal sold for \$12. Washington material brought strong prices, typical for the time: two varieties of 1791 Washington Large Eagle cents brought \$10.25 and \$10.00, while a Small Eagle example (“a magnificent specimen, strictly a proof impression”) brought \$26.50. A 1792 Washington Hancock silver piece brought a very strong \$90 despite the cataloguer’s pointing out that it had been “worn as a medal.”

The colonial coins offered in this sale of the Lilliendahl collection were not outstanding in breadth, but they did include some truly incredible pieces, such as the following three lots:

- 1074 Lord Baltimore Shilling, struck during the reign of Charles the First of England, for the Colony of Maryland; almost a miracle of preservation; every hair perfect. A piece of great rarity in any condition. [sold for \$32.50]
- 1075 Baltimore Town Three Pence. Obv. Head of Standish Barry, “Baltimore Town, July 4th, 90;” rev. “Standish Barry Three Pence.” In fair preservation, and extremely rare; not above five of these pieces are known to be in existence. [sold for \$22]
- 1076 The Annapolis Coins, a set of three pieces, viz.: One Shilling, Six Pence, and Three Pence. This set of coins is of the highest rarity, having never before been offered in this country. The shilling and threepence are very fine; the sixpence is the rarest of the series, in poor condition, but seldom met with. Will be sold in one lot, or separately, at the option of the owner. [sold as a set for \$40]

The significance of the above three lots is greater than most of what follows, however. A smattering of Massachusetts silver brought uninspired prices, while a Continental Currency piece in tin brought \$5.25, a lower price than usual at the time. An *Immunis Columbia* copper sold for \$9 (but the description of the piece tells us nothing more about its identity). An *Excelsior*/Eagle copper brought \$26, showing that these pieces were appreciated even at this early date. State coppers brought lower prices, with even a New Jersey copper described as “a fine proof, perhaps *never* seen as fine” (*italics in the original*), bringing but \$4. A “bright and uncirculated” example of the “head of

Gov. Bradford” Connecticut copper (what we now generally call a Mutton Head variety), sold for \$2.75, to give some idea of the prices of even exceptional state coppers.

The Lilliendahl collection was one of the finest offered at the time, and brought \$2,241 according to Attinelli.¹⁷ As an indicator of the importance in which the catalogue was held at the time, a post-sale edition was published, with the prices realized printed alongside each lot. It was, however, only the first of a remarkable series of sales to be held in a short space of time.

W. Elliot Woodward’s Finotti Sale

The sales of W. Elliot Woodward were introduced in the last installment of this article.¹⁸ Those first few sales, denoted A, 1, 2 and 3 by Woodward later in life, were inauspicious at best. This all changed with his catalogue of the Finotti collection, which was sold at auction from November 11–14, 1862 (Figure 4). The sale’s total proceeds of \$3,751.43 set a new record for an American numismatic auction.¹⁹ This was the first sale held in the U.S. to feature a collection of colonial coins that was simply breathtaking.

Woodward was born in Maine in 1825, though he moved as a young man to the Boston area and made that his home for the rest of his life.²⁰ An apothecary by trade, Woodward had apparently always had an academic mindset, despite a lack of higher education. He lectured on mnemonics as a young man and by 1858 had joined the New England Historic Genealogical Society.²¹ The apothecary business must have been a success, for Woodward purchased the Finotti collection outright before cataloguing it for sale. Woodward himself collected books, forming important libraries and selling them more than once.²² The success of the Finotti sale allowed him the luxury of focusing his attention more on his numismatic interests, and the result was a stunning series of early sales that are equally noteworthy for their intensely detailed cataloguing and the quality of the material they offered.²³



Figure 4 — Woodward’s ground-breaking sale of the Finotti collection.

Joseph M. Finotti was a Roman Catholic priest, born in Italy in 1817. A noted antiquarian, he is best known outside numismatic circles for his religious writings, the most important of which, *Bibliographica Catholica Americana*, was only partially published at the time of his death in 1879.²⁴ His numismatic activities prior to the sale of his collection to Woodward must have been considerable, though they appear to have been largely forgotten.

The Finotti sale begins with an introduction by Woodward, who signs the catalogue, in contrast to most sales of the day. In deference to his seeming inexperience as a cataloguer, Woodward follows his introduction with a letter written by Edward Cogan, the dean of American numismatics at the time, in which Cogan praises the collection and the cataloguing of it by Woodward. Of interest to collectors of colonials are the following comments by Cogan:

I would remark, in reference to the Colonial pieces, what I mentioned in one of my former Catalogues, that many may be fairly termed *fine*, referring to the relative condition of the piece, rather than to the coin itself, as it is well known that but very few specimens of the Colonial coins are to be found in any cabinets, which are really in an uncirculated condition.

It would seem that the grading of colonials has always been a matter of some controversy.

Federal issues were very well represented in the sale, which featured only American pieces (which is surprising, coming from a classically trained, European-born priest). The colonials begin with lot 1329. Up to this point, the highest price brought by a lot was \$26 for a brilliant 1838 Gobrecht dollar. The colonials start with a flourish, with an NE shilling and sixpence selling for \$25 and \$24, respectively. Other Massachusetts silver follows, with lot 1332 being of particular interest to us today:

1652 Pine Tree Shilling; very fine specimen, doubly struck — tree of remarkable description, quite unlike the pine or oak, more nearly resembling the palmetto, a cross over the tree; one of the rarest varieties.

This piece — a Willow Tree shilling, unrecognized as a separate type at the time — sold for a bargain \$5, less than what a few of the actual Pine Tree shillings brought in the sale.²⁵

Other oddities of the period are also to be found, including Woodward's detailed description of a 1652-dated Pine Tree Twopence he takes as proving that Massachusetts began striking all denominations during that year. For the most part, however, the reader is struck by the sheer number of important pieces and the excellence of the cataloguing. A Carolina Proprietors Elephant token brought \$24, while a Lord Baltimore shilling, sixpence and groat sold respectively for \$16.50, \$21 and \$15.50. A Rosa Americana penny described as a "proof impression" brought a strong \$12.

Lot 1385, a Higley VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE / I CUT MY WAY THROUGH copper (presumably undated, as no date here is given), sold for \$50, nearly twice what the Gobrecht dollar mentioned earlier had brought. Coming on its heels, however, is one of the more perplexing lots in the sale, lot 1393:

1778 Non Dependens Status. For a description and engraving of this coin, see "Dickeson," p. 90. This piece is in the most beautiful condition, perfectly *unique*, and is perhaps the most remarkable and valuable coin in the entire collection. Its origin is traced, with a tolerable degree of certainty, to the staunch old Revolutionary patriot, Paul Revere, of Boston.

The piece — now regarded as a fantasy piece of the 1850s²⁶ — sold for \$70, a very high sum at the time. It's worth noting that Dickeson shies from declaring the piece genuine, and makes no mention of Revere.²⁷

Happily, a more suitable coin was about to steal the show, with lot 1397, an *Inimica Tyrannis America / Confederatio* pattern piece selling for \$77.50. A 1785 *Immune Columbia* piece followed at \$33.

State coppers were represented in abundance in the sale, though as these generally brought under \$1 each, descriptions were usually more muted than for some of the more notable coins. Even here, though, there were exceptions, such as Woodward's description of lot 1466:

1788 [Connecticut Cent]; struck over a "Nova Constellatio," the wreath of which appears on the head of the bust, starting from just above the eye, and forming a most elegant fillet; a projection like a horn from the top of the head. The legend reads "Tuctopi;" on the reverse, the stars and rays form for the goddess a most remarkable drapery. It is believed that no specimen of this coinage can be produced combining so many peculiarities. In fine condition, and without doubt unique.

This lengthy description takes up about a quarter of the page on which it is found, and Woodward was rewarded with \$1.63 for his efforts.

More valuable pieces were still to be found, however. A 1787 *Liber Natus Libertatem Defendo / Excelsior* piece sold for \$44, while a 1787 *Immune Columbia* "in splendid condition" brought \$13. It was lot 1521, however, that stole the show by bringing the highest price of the sale:

1787 George Clinton Piece; obv. name and bust of George Clinton; rev. arms and motto of State of New York, with the date. The piece is in almost proof condition. Apart from its excessive rarity, it possesses a peculiar interest, from the fact that it was the first one of the kind discovered, and was for a long time considered unique. But four others are known, and it is believed no one of them is quite equal to this.

The piece sold for \$115, a remarkable sum for the period. It's worth noting that Woodward's description of this piece is one line shorter in the catalogue than his description of the \$1.63 overstruck Connecticut copper mentioned above. No one could accuse Woodward of focusing exclusively on the monetary value of the coins he sold.

The Benjamin Haines Collection

The Haines sale, held January 19–23, 1863 at Bangs, Merwin and Company in New York, easily broke the Finotti's sale record for most valuable collection sold at auction, bringing in a very strong \$5,375.30.²⁸ Surprisingly little seems to be known today about Haines. He was obviously very active in the hobby, but he does not appear to have been involved in the early American Numismatic Society or contributed to publications. Like many of our own age, he may have been satisfied to simply acquire coins, taking little

interest in the social life of the numismatic fellowship; or perhaps he limited his numismatic activities to correspondence. His name isn't to be found in Bowers's book on the era, and Attinelli mentions only that he was a "a thriving merchant, as well as an antiquarian."²⁹ He was known to William C. Prime, with whom he consigned coins to an 1860 auction,³⁰ and who makes reference to his collection in his 1861 book.³¹

One person who did know Haines was dealer Edward Cogan. Much as he had done for Woodward's Finotti sale, Cogan wrote a letter intended for public circulation about the Haines auction. The letter, dated December 26, 1862, was issued separately, not as a part of the catalogue (as the Finotti letter had been), clearly written as a favor to Haines by Cogan. Haines catalogued his collection for sale himself, which was nearly as unusual at the time as it is today. Cogan wrote that "the American portion is of a very highly interesting character, from the fact of its containing a great number of fine Proofs in Silver and Copper, of the regular series, and also from the very rare and splendid impressions among the Colonial and Washington pieces."³²

The sale is indeed important for colonials, which begin with lot 1916. New Jersey coppers are covered first, though they are mostly unremarkable. Indeed, the most remarkable coin among these is a piece that somehow confounded a number of numismatists of the day, here described as lot 1935:

"Kart Hago." This copper coin was sold in a sale of coins belonging to A.C. Kline, of Philadelphia, in 1855, and described, "New Jersey Penny, copper, horse's head facing left, XLII. Rev. 'Kart Hago,' Indian standing. Very fine and exceedingly rare." It was valued by its former owner at \$100.

The piece brought \$29. To solve this mystery, we have to go back to the Kline sale in question. By coincidence, I happen to have with me as I write the copy of the Kline sale that belonged to Winslow J. Howard, who attended the sale and bought the piece in question. In his heavily annotated copy of the catalogue, Howard wrote, "Not a New Jersey coin, but a coin of Carthage." He tipped into his catalogue a description of the piece with an illustration of it (Figure 5). He later notes, "Afterwards sold by Howard to Curtis & bought of Curtis by Haines." The "Curtis" in question is dealer John K. Curtis, of New York. How exactly an ancient coin could have been taken as a piece less than 100 years old is frankly a puzzle to me, but Howard's copy of the Kline sale allows us to shed some light on this interesting bit of confusion.

The "Kart Hago" piece aside, there are some genuine colonial delicacies to be found in the Haines sale. A 1785 Auctori Vermon/Immune Columbia piece brought \$20. One of the highlights of the sale followed soon after: the silver "Kentucky token." This is number 1164 in the Breen *Encyclopedia*, where he simply lists it as "unverified," and is the same coin that was



Figure 5 — Winslow Howard's sketch of the "Kart Hago" piece that some thought to be a New Jersey "penny."

sold in the May 1860 Cogan sale discussed in Part II of this article. It cost Haines \$35 in the 1860 sale and here brought \$92.50, providing a tidy profit.

Maryland silver brought some good prices. A pierced Chalmer's shilling sold for \$4.75, while more intact examples of the sixpence and threepence brought \$10 and \$16, respectively. A Lord Baltimore shilling went for \$17, a sixpence brought \$19, and a rare groat brought \$22.50.

The most valuable pieces included a New England shilling, which sold for \$26 and a Carolina Proprietors Elephant token, which brought \$29. These were but a prelude to the George Clinton copper "in excellent condition," which fetched \$77.50. A 1787 Immunis Columbia with the eagle reverse, ("perfectly uncirculated, and by far the finest the owner has seen in any cabinet in the country") brought \$20, while a 1785 Immune Columbia / Nova Constellatio brought \$37.50. One of this writer's favorite coins, the 1787 Liber Natus Libertatem Defendo, sold for \$29, which isn't bad for a piece described as "considerably rubbed."

The Haines sale included two Higley (or Granby) coppers: an undated (1737) VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE / J CUT MY WAY THROUGH example sold for \$67.50, and a 1737 THE VALVE OF THREE PENCE / CONNECTICVT specimen went for \$55. Top billing, however, was reserved for a 1785 Confederatio copper with eagle reverse, which brought \$125, a very high price for the time period in question. The sale concluded with colonial and Continental paper money, but these brought very low prices. Despite going out on that weak note, the sale was a huge success, setting a record that would stay in place for over a year.

The Henry Smith Sale

The March 24–26, 1863 sale of the Henry A. Smith collection is listed under both Strobridge's and Woodward's name by Adams, despite Strobridge's being the only name given on the catalogue's cover.³³ Attinelli mentioned Woodward's involvement in the sale,³⁴ and Woodward himself listed it as Sale B in listings of his catalogues, acknowledging his involvement, but not assigning it a number in his series.³⁵ The style of the cataloguing points to Strobridge as the author, and any involvement by Woodward in the sale was likely peripheral. About Smith, little appears to be known, with even his hometown being subject to disagreement.³⁶

The sale is a good one, with decent (but not great) federal coins, as well as a wide representation of those series that were more popular then than now, including storecards, presidential medals, political tokens and temperance medals. The colonials begin with lot 540, and are unexceptional at first. There are a few interesting Rosa Americana pieces, including an "*Ameri. farthing*" that brought \$4 and one described as "*Americana in silver, 1723, rose and stem crowned, from a new die; proof, rare,*" which sold for \$2. Massachusetts silver follows, with Strobridge making some token efforts to distinguish between die varieties, but failing to raise much enthusiasm for the pieces among the bidders. A pewter Continental Currency piece that brought \$6 when it was sold as part of

the Finotti sale here brought \$10. A Chalmers shilling sold for \$6. So far, the colonials are mostly run-of-the-mill, with a few nice pieces thrown in now and then.

Then things get exciting. Under the heading "Coins and Tokens Belonging Exclusively to New-York State," we find lot 588:

"Liber Natus Libertatem Defendo," Indian standing with bow and hatchet; on the opposite side, an eagle standing on an hemisphere; legend, Neo Eborocus, 1787, Excelsior; condition good; one of the rarest and most interesting of the Colonial coins.

The piece brought very spirited bidding and sold for \$67.50 to William Sumner Appleton, a wealthy Boston collector who left many of his coins and medals to the Massachusetts Historical Society (this particular coin was later deaccessioned and sold through Stack's 1976 ANA sale³⁷). The excitement continued with the next lot, a 1787 Immunis Columbia with Eagle reverse described as being in "very fine condition, and very rare" selling for \$20.13.

State coppers followed, with the sale featuring a number of New Jersey and Connecticut coppers, some described as unlisted in the Dickeson reference, and many with die varieties described to some extent. Prices were mixed. A "perfectly uncirculated" Connecticut copper of the "Bradford Head" variety brought \$5.25. A New Jersey "dog cent" (Running Fox) sold for \$4.50. A Vermont "Baby Head" described as "*uncirculated*, though on an imperfect planchet" brought only \$1.50. Other, more significant, pieces followed. A Lord Baltimore shilling ("remarkably fine") sold for \$21, followed by a Carolina Elephant token at \$18.50 and a Vermon Auctori/Immune Columbia at \$20.50.

Washington material, as always, brought strong prices, with a silver Washington Funeral Urn medal selling for \$9.50, a silver Washington Skull and Crossbones funeral medal bringing \$20, a copper Westwood medal going for \$15, a bronze Hero of Freedom medal bringing \$16, and a 1791 Small Eagle cent selling for \$22.50.

In the area of early paper currency, the following issues printed by Franklin or Franklin and Hall were offered in the sale: Delaware, February 28, 1746, 20 shillings; Pennsylvania, July 1, 1757, 20 shillings; Delaware, May 1, 1758, 20 shillings; and Pennsylvania, May 1, 1760, 15 shillings. Indicative of the paucity of interest expressed at the time in early American paper money, these sold for between 35 and 85 cents apiece.

Bidders in the colonial section of the sale included Appleton, J. Carson Brevoort, John F. McCoy, Joseph W. Mauterstock and Joseph Zanoni, among others. The sale brought a little over \$2,000, including the prices realized in a short addenda that opened the sale.

Edward Cogan's April 1863 Sale

Edward Cogan's April 1863 auction sale was his eleventh, making him the most experienced of the cataloguers under discussion.³⁸ Taking place at the halfway point of the war, the sale's coins are advertised as being Cogan's own property, not shedding any light on provenance. Beginning with some fairly nice federal issues, Cogan first gets to colonials at lot 515. The coins offered here are mostly average, a 1787 Excelsior copper that sold for \$22 being the exception. The catalogue then lists some Washington pieces, including a 1791 Small Eagle cent and a 1792 issue that sold for \$21 and \$25, respectively. A few "miscellaneous coins" follow, after which a second group of colonials is listed, including some decent collector coins, but nothing to make us sit up and take notice. More federal issues follow, as well as some foreign coins. While some of the federal coins are very nice, the sale as a whole is so far unexceptional.

Beginning with lot 1033, however, Cogan lists a third group of colonials, starting off with a Lord Baltimore groat that brought \$19. Interspersed throughout the colonials that follow, all of which appear to have been nice, are some truly exceptional coins. A group of Rosa Americana pieces brought very strong prices for the period: a 1722 penny without crown (an "unusually fine uncirculated impression") brought \$15.50; a 1723 halfpenny with crown in similar condition brought \$9; a 1723 farthing without crown brought \$10.50. These are followed by the highlight of the sale so far, lot 1040:

1737 Granly Copper, *ob.* "Value me as you please," *rev.* I am good copper, poor impression, but the only one that I have known to be offered of this type, being the rarest of any of this series

Misspellings and selective punctuation aside, the piece sold for \$46, a very high price at the time. It was followed by a Pitt token, "the finest impression I have known to be offered," that brought \$13.50, evidence that at least two bidders agreed with Cogan's assessment of the piece. A 1783 Annapolis sixpence brought \$20. New Jersey coppers are listed in terms regrettably unhelpful to us in determining die varieties, especially since Cogan thought so much of the group that he closed their description by saying "The foregoing Nova Caesareas are the best I have ever known to be offered for sale, and to which I call the especial attention of the collectors."

Some very interesting Immune/Immunis Columbia pieces were also sold at strong prices:

- 1052 Immune Columbia, *ob.* Vermon Auctori, head rubbed, *rev.* very fine for this exceedingly rare type. [brought \$25]
- 1053 Immune Columbia, *ob.* Georgius III, Rex, head same condition as preceding, *rev.* very fine, equally rare. [brought \$27]
- 1057 1786 Immunis Columbia, *rev.* New Jersey Shield, E. Pluribus Unum, in fine condition and very rarely met with. [brought \$56]
- 1066 1787 Immunis Columbia, *rev.* Eagle E. Pluribus Unum, unusually good impression and very scarce. [brought \$18]

Some Washington material closed the sale,³⁹ with a highlight being an Ugly Head specimen. Cogan introduces the lot description by writing, "The following is the most

curious Coin ever offered at Public Sale, and for a more accurate description see Snowden's account of it in his Book on the pieces, in the Washington Cabinet, where he designates it as *Unique*." The listing (lot 1116) itself is as follows:

Washington the Great D. G., Head, ugly, *rev.* A circle of Rings, with the initials of each State in one of the Rings. It is a good deal rubbed. An Arrow and Cross stamped on the reverse. The only one besides this, known, is the one alluded to above.

Ugly or not, the piece sold for \$60. (This piece has been thought by some to have been discovered in recent times.) Lot 1115, a Washington copper Getz "cent" sold for \$50, while a piece described as a "Washington Half Dollar similar to 1115," which is added in manuscript in the copy of the sale in this writer's library as lot 1116½, sold for \$85.⁴⁰ The sale was a great success, with some prices realized that were extraordinarily strong for 1863.

Conclusion

It appears that when exceptional coins are being offered for sale, it doesn't matter all that much that there's a war on. In the final part of this article, I will examine the second half of the Civil War years and discuss how they set the tone for the remainder of the 19th century for coin collecting and, in particular, the study of colonial coins.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The pace at which coins were withdrawn from circulation varied. Banks suspended specie payments in December 1861, causing silver and gold coins to essentially vanish from circulation. To the surprise of Mint officials, the copper-nickel small cents also began to disappear from the marketplace, despite having been present in 1860 in such numbers as to be regarded as a nuisance. The (generally) copper tokens which took their place circulated widely until the Mint began striking cents in bronze in 1864, finally creating a circulating medium that would remain in the marketplace. The U.S. Congress passed prohibitions on the manufacture of private coinage on June 8, 1864. See Don Taxay, *The U.S. Mint and Coinage* (New York: Arco, 1966), pp. 227, 239 and 243.
- ² Gengerke, Martin, *American Numismatic Auctions*, CD-ROM, 2002.
- ³ This argument has also been forwarded to explain the vitality of the U.S. numismatic market during the Second World War.
- ⁴ Fanning, David F., "Collectors Who Served in the Civil War," *Numismatist*, Vol. 117, No. 11 (November 2004), pp. 44-48. Civil War soldiers who would later become significant numismatists include Édouard Frossard, Lyman Low, John Haseltine and George Massamore.
- ⁵ On Bramhall, see Bowers, *American Numismatics before the Civil War, 1760-1860* (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Bowers and Merena, 1998), pp. 145-149.
- ⁶ Mason, Ebenezer Locke, "Personal Numismatic Reminiscences: No. 2, The Numismatic Chums," *Masons' Coin Collectors' Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (September 1882), p. 25.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
- ⁸ It is intriguing (if ultimately fruitless) to speculate on how Civil War soldiers may have attempted to continue their numismatic pursuits. The author has in his library an 1862 fixed price list issued by John

- K. Curtis, a New York coin dealer, signed on the front cover by "J.N.T. Levick / Lt. U.S.V." It is the only piece of numismatic literature of which I am aware that was signed by a Civil War soldier/numismatist during the war.
- ⁹ Mission Viejo, California: George F. Kolbe, 1982. An "Additions and Corrections" supplement was published by Kolbe in 2001. This work is absolutely essential to anyone interested in this subject.
- ¹⁰ Table 1 was compiled by the author with Adams as its basis, but with additional information derived from other sources.
- ¹¹ American Numismatic Society, *Proceedings*, 1899, p. 15.
- ¹² Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- ¹³ ANS, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- ¹⁴ The figure of 29 sales includes Strobbridge's 1873 descriptive catalogue of the George F. Seavey collection, which was catalogued for sale before being purchased outright by Lorin G. Parmelee.
- ¹⁵ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 37. As Adams notes, Strobbridge's blindness was caused by detached retinas, easily repairable today.
- ¹⁶ Attinelli, Emmanuel Joseph, *Numisgraphics* (1876), reprinted as *A Bibliography of American Numismatic Auction Catalogues, 1828-1875* (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman, 1976), p. 25.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.* Bowers states (*American Numismatics*, p. 294) that this sum constituted a record price for a numismatic sale, but that appears only to be true if one disregards the addendum to the Bogert sale of 1859.
- ¹⁸ *The C4 Newsletter*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Fall 2007), pp. 14–24. Part One can be found in Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 34–41.
- ¹⁹ Attinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- ²⁰ Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–27.
- ²¹ Levine, Steve. "A Biography of W. Elliot Woodward." Available online at <<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Ithaca/2594/woodward/wewoodwardbiography.html>>. Levine is Woodward's great-great-grandson.
- ²² The *Bibliotheca Americana* sale of 1869 was the largest sale from Woodward's library, with 6,810 lots catalogued in 668 pages, though at least three other libraries were disposed by him at auction.
- ²³ For more on Woodward, see Charles Davis, "W. Elliot Woodward, A Few Notes and New Plates," *The Asylum*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 13–21.
- ²⁴ On Finotti, see Edward P. Spillane's entry for him in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume VI (New York: Robert Appleton, 1909).
- ²⁵ On the misperception of the Willow Tree coinage during this time, see Walter Breen, *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (New York: FCI/Doubleday, 1988), p. 12.
- ²⁶ Though often ascribed to the 1860s, the piece is discussed and depicted in the 1858 issue of *Norton's Literary Letter*, one of the few publications in antebellum America to publish numismatic content.
- ²⁷ Dickeson, Montroville Wilson, *The American Numismatic Manual of the Currency or Money of the Aborigines, and Colonial, State, and United States Coins. With Historical and Descriptive Notices of*

Each Coin or Series (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1860), pp. 89–90. Dickeson cites a Mr. Howard, of New York City, as owning the only specimen known to him. This was probably Winslow J. Howard, a notable collector.

²⁸ Attinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁹ Attinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ Prime, William C. (editor). *Coins, Medals, and Seals, Ancient and Modern. Illustrated and Described.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1861.

³² Courtesy of a Knickerbocker bibliophile.

³³ Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 and 38. The author wishes to thank Dan Hamelberg for the use of his annotated copy of the Smith catalogue while preparing this article.

³⁴ Attinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³⁵ Woodward regularly included listings of his past sales in his auction catalogues, such as in his Sale 50 (The Ralston Collection, October 16–18, 1882).

³⁶ The cover of the sale catalogue gives Cleveland, Ohio as Smith's hometown, while Q. David Bowers gives it as Pawtucket, Rhode Island (*American Numismatics*, *op. cit.*, p. 343).

³⁷ Aug. 24–28, 1976 (lot 72). Thanks to Anne Bentley for providing this information.

³⁸ Adams calls this sale Cogan's eleventh, though it should be pointed out that the ninth sale is actually the descriptive catalogue of the "C. De Haven" collection, which was sold *en masse* to William Lilliendahl.

³⁹ I find it necessary, despite the focus of these articles, to mention that this sale featured an excellent group of 1792 pattern coins that brought extremely high prices. A 1792 lettered edge Birch cent brought \$205, an absolutely amazing price for the time. The 1792 pattern piece usually described as a quarter (here described as a pattern cent, revealing it as one of the two known copper specimens) sold for \$110. A silver centered cent brought \$85, while a 1792 half disme ("the most beautiful impression ever offered at public auction") went for \$30.

⁴⁰ Although the description of lot 1115 neither states the metal in which the piece was struck nor presumes to assign a denomination to it, the differentiation of the manuscript lot 1116½ as a "half dollar" similar otherwise to lot 1115 makes me fairly certain that lot 1115 is the copper Getz "cent."

OUR VISIT TO THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY NUMISMATIC COLLECTION

(Roger S. Siboni)

On May 13, 2008, Syd Martin and I spent a enjoyable day visiting the Numismatic Collection housed at Princeton University. While it had taken some time to coordinate between Syd's and my schedules, and the fact that Princeton University Collection Curator Alan Stahl is only endowed to accommodate visitors on Tuesdays to Thursdays, the wait was well worth it.

We picked a beautiful sunny day in Princeton for our visit and we enjoyed a latte in town until our scheduled appointment at 10 AM. The Collection is housed in the rare book section of Princeton's library and as we entered the rare book wing, we were delighted to see a magnificent exhibit that Curator Stahl had assembled illustrating rare numismatic manuscripts featuring ancient coins held in the Princeton Collection.

While the exhibit was fascinating (and Syd and I were both commenting to one another how nice it would be to do such an exhibit with old Chapman catalogs and associated Colonial Coinage), this was not the main purpose of our visit.

Syd was there to see what Rosa Americana coinage they had in their collection for possible new varieties in his upcoming book, and I was there to see the Colonial American section in general. The security was rather robust, but after signing in and so forth we were escorted down to meet with Alan Stahl who was waiting for us. After spending a bit of time talking about the Collection, his position, his new fellowship and coins in general, Alan took us to the coin vault. Alan could not have been more generous with the access he gave us to all things Colonial American.

While I would not describe the collection as vast when compared to what one might see at the British Museum or ANS, what they did have was surprisingly rare and unusual. I will not dwell on everything they had, but instead will take you through the sequence of surprises we came across on our visit.

In the vault the first thing Alan opened up for us was a tray of Nini molds for Benjamin Franklin. Being a Nini collector, this was quite a treat. For those of you not familiar with Ninis, they are generally found as terra cotta 4 1/2 inch round 3/4 inch thick portraits of Benjamin Franklin. I was quite pleased when, in the John Adams mini series recently on HBO, Franklin acknowledged that his likeness in Paris had become as common as that of the man in the moon. In this regard, he was talking about the many Nini portraits that were made in France during his mission to Paris to secure financing, supplies and military aid to the fledgling United States during the Revolutionary War. While many remain and appear maybe once a year at auction, to see three original molds was quite amazing...two molds of which I have never actually seen Ninis in the "terra cotta" or even in book form (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. Franklin Molds by Nini

Next, Alan pulled out a tray of Medals, some rare, some common, some restrikes – but there amidst what one might see at a nice auction of Betts Medals was something quite extraordinary. The finest known (of only three I believe) Jefferson-United States Diplomatic Medal. (See Ford V, Lot 202; interestingly, Ford listed only two known.) The only example of this rare and beautiful medal I had ever seen before was this Ford piece. And while I ogled the medal for over 10 minutes during lot viewing at Ford, this example towered above it in condition, tone and luster (see Figure 2). What a thrill to hold and behold.



Figure 2. United States Diplomatic Medal

After catching our breath, Alan allowed us to take out the trays containing miscellaneous American Colonial coins and bring them back to his office for study. The colonials were truly a mixed bag including examples of Massachusetts Silver, state coinage, Rosas and Hibernias. Even a couple of well-done counterfeits were there. I will not enumerate them all as most could be seen at an average sized coin show, but a few are worth mentioning. First, as I thumbed through the state coinage, I came to a stop at the five Vermont Coppers they had. All were medium to low grade. One of the low-grade examples looked very unusual! It took Syd and I a while to place this one Vermont and I must admit that Syd came to it before I did, but it was a very nice example of the variety – a cast Ryder 5. A few minutes consulting Breen and our suspicions were confirmed.

Well, Syd and I were quite content with our finds for the day and being able to assist Princeton University in identifying one more rarity in their collection. Lunch was drawing close, and there were two small yet unidentified boxes of coins to go through before we went out for lunch. As I flipped through one box, most things appeared fairly

common until I came across a small silver coin marked pattern. I picked it up and looked at it for quite a while... I asked permission to take it out of its plastic flip for a closer examination. Syd was busy studying the Rosa Americanas. Finally, I turned to Syd and asked if the coin I was holding was what I thought it was. He looked for a few minutes...paused...and said "I think so." There we were, looking at perhaps the finest, or one of the finest, 1792 Half Dismes in existence! (See Figure 3.) After we all calmed down, Alan was able to trace the provenance to an early 1900s Princeton donor of a small collection. He also had an excerpt from an old Max Mehl sale describing the coin as the finest ever seen by Mehl. What a find! (Recent auction records go to nearly \$1.5 million.)



Figure 3. Judd 7 1792 Half Disme

Well, with all that excitement behind us, Alan graciously got us into the Princeton Faculty Club where we had a most enjoyable late lunch and finished a wonderful day of coin viewing and discovery.

JAMES BUDD AND MARK NEWBY CIRCULATE THEIR SMALL CHANGE IN 17TH CENTURY WEST JERSEY

(Wayne H. Shelby)

My friend, John Parkes, is a knowledgeable and avid collector of Indian artifacts who often walks plowed farm fields after heavy rains, providing him the best opportunity to recover such artifacts by eyesight. At one particular farm field, John has searched for Indian artifacts on a regular basis for a number of years. After eyeballing an occasional old coin or button it became apparent that this area was transversed by early European settlers. When John brought his finds to my attention, I was amazed at the eras from which the artifacts came (mostly coins and buttons) -- they dated from the late 17th century to the early 19th century. I immediately recognized one piece as a Tradesmen's token of the sort dated 1666, since my interest in these has increased following my own metal detecting recoveries.

It might prove interesting to list the artifacts (other than Indian relics) that John has found in this particular field. Coins and/or tokens he has recovered are:

1666 James Budd Grocery Token (English)
1721 George I English halfpenny
No date William III halfpenny
1793 U.S. large cent, (wreath)
Blank/non-attributable halfpenny-size copper

While he has found the following buttons:

Doublet: Pre-1700
Wister or Vent Back: c. 1700-1765
Spun back or Tombac: c. 1740-1795
Brass no back marks: c. 1740-1795
1 piece back marked: c. 1795-1840

It is the James Budd Token that is the primary subject of this article.

In a *History of Antiquities of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis* by Dr. George Alfred Ellis, published in 1829, we find the following reference to English Trade tokens:

It appears that from and during the time of Queen Elizabeth and Charles ii., tradesmen coined small money or tokens for the convenience of trade, and which at that time, were very much wanted as very few farthings were coined by authority, and those were very much deteriorated in value. Queen Elizabeth was very averse to this coining, but in 1594 permission was granted to the Mayor of Bristol to coin a token; this was afterwards followed by other towns. Weymouth fell in with the stream and several were coined; their figure was generally round, and the device as fancy dictated, and were composed of tin, copper, brass and lead; every

community and tradesman was obliged to take them again; a sorting, box divided into different compartments was usually kept, into a division was thrown those that were coined by one individual, which were returned to the party and exchanged for silver.

In 1672, Charles ii having coined a sufficient quantity of half pence and farthings for the exigencies of the State, these Nummorum Famuli were represented as being an infringement of the King's prerogative. They are now (1829) exceedingly scarce, and are only to be found in the possession of individuals, who are very choice over the custody of them; they are about the size of a sixpence, though a few are a little larger, especially the town coins. They have generally on the obverse the arms of the craft or trade with their names, and on the reverse their own or their wife's initials, their residence and date.¹

The names on them are, **“James Budd, of Weymouth in Dor-cett, his halfpenny, 1666”**; Bartholomew Beer in Waymouth, 1658; Francis Reed in Waymouth; John Sendir of Way-mouth; Thomas Hide, Waymouth and Melcombe Regis; James Stanly, in Way-mouth, 1664; John Beere in Way-mouth, 1664.² [Bolding added.]

Even though the Budd token recovered by John Parkes is bent and has considerable corrosion which obliterates some letters and legends, it has retained enough detail to make a positive identification (See Figure 1). Photographs of the 1666 token were forwarded to Dr. Andy Singer who attributed it as a Williamson Number 198 – a photograph of one in my collection is given as Figure 2. These Williamson #198 tokens exhibit the following legends:

Obverse: “IN DORCETT HIS HALFPENNY” around the date “1666”

Reverse: “IAMES BVDD OF WAYMOVTH” around shield with grocer’s arms.

With this information at hand I decided to research James Budd using the search engine “Google.” To my surprise and in a matter of minutes the Budd Family history from England to New Jersey was revealed:

In England, the Budd’s were among the first to embrace Quakerism in the Middle Division of Somersetshire, we find the following entry in the Friends' Register of Marriages as early as 1659: — "James Budd, Grocer of Martock and Joane Beere (nee Reeve) of Weymouth, Dorset, married 1659-6-11."³

Reverend Thomas Budd was born in England, on 23 May 1617. He served as the Rector of the parish at Somersetshire, England, and joined the Quakers in 1657. In 1661, he refused to take the oath of obedience to the

Church of England; he was arrested and jailed. Thomas spent nine years in Ilchester jail, until his death in 1670. Reverend Thomas Budd had six children: (Mary, Thomas, John, James, William and Suzanna) all of whom settled in Burlington New Jersey in the later 17th century.⁴



Figure 1. James Budd Token Found in Burlington County, NJ



Figure 2. A James Budd Token from the Collection of the Author

Focused on the numismatic perspective, a brief selected history of Thomas, John and James Budd is provided below:

Thomas Budd was born on 19 May 1645 and died on 5 Feb 1687/8 in Philadelphia. He was married to Suzanna Robinson. It is possible that he arrived in New Jersey around 1668; if so, he returned to England, again coming to New Jersey ten years later aboard the *Kent* with his family and three of his brothers – there were 25 passengers in all on the boat. He was elected to the West Jersey Assembly in 1681 as one of eight commissioners for the settling and regulation of lands, along with Thomas Olive, Robert Stacy, Mahlon Stacy, Benjamin Scott, Thomas Gardine, Daniel Wells, and Thomas Lambert. Thomas Budd was a friend of George Fox and William Penn, and wrote a pamphlet entitled "Good

Order Established in New Jersey." In 1684 he, along with Samuel Jennings, was sent to England to resolve a disagreement with the authorities about the appointment of a New Jersey governor.⁵

John Budd was born on 22 February 1647 in England and died in November 1704; his wife was Rebecca Sandiland. He settled in Burlington, New Jersey, in 1675 and later moved to Philadelphia, where he was a merchant. His wife's brother, Mr. James Sandiland, was the Sheriff of Philadelphia during 1706 -1707. John and Rebecca had four children together.⁶

James Budd was born on 2 January 1648, and drowned at Burlington, New Jersey in 1692. He was married to Joanna Reeves, in 1659. He was elected to the West Jersey Assembly, like his brother Thomas, in 1685. That same year he also served as a Justice of the Peace. Before his untimely demise, James fathered two children.⁷

Furthermore, 1682 records indicate the following individuals served in the assembly of West-Jersey:

Thomas Olive, speaker, Mahlon Stacy, Joshua Wright, John Lambert, Thomas Lambert, William Emley, Godfrey Hancock, Daniel Leeds, Thomas Wright, Samuel Borden, Robert Stacy, **Thomas Budd**, Daniel Wills, sen., Thomas Gardiner, John Crips, John White, John Chaffin, Bernard Davenish, Isaac Marriott, William Peachy, William Cooper, **Mark Newby**, Thomas Thackery, Robert Zane, James Nevil, Richard Guy, Mark Reeves, Richard Hancock, John Smith, John Pledger, Edward Wade, George Deacon, and Samuel Hedge.⁸

Mark Newby, a well-documented individual in numismatic history (on St. Patrick fame) chose virtually the same path as the Budd Family:

Mark Newby, a Northumberland Quaker, moved to Dublin, where he suffered religious persecution. He then moved to Ballicane, County Wicklow, where he was living in 1681; later that year he joined fellow Quakers in their American settlement. Correctly guessing that small change would be in short supply in the colonies, Newby brought along a cask containing £30 worth = 14,400 coppers. Newby eventually settled in Old Gloucester County (near present day Camden) where Newby set up the first bank in the Province of New Jersey. He developed enough political clout to persuade the Provincial Assembly to declare his coppers legal tender 18 May 1682; Newby used at least 300 acres of his own lands as security for redemption of the coins. He died in the fall of 1682, but the coins continued to circulate, being known as Newby's coppers or Newby's halfpence (or collectively as St. Patrick coins). Both types apparently passed indiscriminately as halfpence."⁹

An evaluation of the presented data indicates Thomas, John and James Budd were the most likely candidates involved in the circulation of their homeland family grocery tokens in West Jersey. John Budd was a merchant by occupation. Thomas Budd was a member of the West Jersey Assembly the same year as Mark Newby (1682) and was involved in the settling and regulation of lands. James Budd was the original merchant and holder of the family tokens brought over from England; he was also a member of the West Jersey Assembly in 1685, alongside his brother Thomas.

Even though the Provincial Assembly of West Jersey never officially declared the Budd Family halfpenny tokens as legal tender, they appear to have circulated as welcome specie due to the shortage of small change. Furthermore, the token could not circulate secretly since James Budd's name appears on the reverse.

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The author would like to thank John Parkes for providing the opportunity to photograph and document his find, Andy Singer for attribution, and Roger Moore for help in editing.

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- ⁴ Reverend Thomas Budd. See http://www.home.adelphia.net/~budd/Thomas_Rev.html
- ⁵ Reverend Thomas Budd. See http://www.home.adelphia.net/~budd/Thomas_Rev.html
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- ⁶ Reverend Thomas Budd. See http://www.home.adelphia.net/~budd/Thomas_Rev.html
Information regarding John Budd was found in *New Jersey Biographical and Genealogical Notes, Barking Up Family Trees* magazine from 9 October 1965, and from private genealogies on file at a local historic society.
- ⁷ Reverend Thomas Budd. See http://www.home.adelphia.net/~budd/Thomas_Rev.html
- ⁸ See http://www.westjerseyhistory.org/books/Chapter_9, (*West Jersey History Project*)
Smith, Samuel, *History of Nova Cæsarea: The Colonial History of New Jersey*, State of New Jersey, 1890.
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WHY DO THE DENOMINATIONS ON COLONIAL BILLS SOMETIMES SEEM UNUSUAL?

(Ray Williams)

After reading the fascinating article by David Gladfelter in a previous issue of the C4 Newsletter,¹ I was inspired to dust off my small collection of colonial bills and look at them again with different eyes.

The four bills pictured here are among my favorites as they use design elements from the Continental Dollar, which have a direct connection to Ben Franklin.² The unusual denominations, and the date of 1776, just added to my desire to obtain the set of four.



Figure 1. New Jersey Notes

At first glance, you might wonder why there would be a need for $1/6$, $1/3$, $1/2$ and $2/3$ Dollar denominations in the year the year 1776 (date of authorization). Part of the answer is that the Dollar as we know it did not exist for almost another two decades when the Philadelphia Mint commenced operation. The Dollar referred to on these notes is the Spanish Milled Dollar – the 8 Reale coin.

Still, why denominate these notes in sixths of a Dollar when the Spanish 8 Reale was already conveniently divided into eighths? What were the colonists thinking? The answer to these questions is that in colonial American commerce, whatever the form of payment tendered in transactions, it was converted to British pounds, shillings and pence for bookkeeping purposes.

At the time and location of the issuance of these bills, the Spanish Milled Dollar (Figure 2) was valued at six shillings in “Lawful Money” (also known as Proclamation Money). This can be seen on the pictured chart from an 18th Century Almanac (Figure 3) Now we have a Dollar coin that can be divided into six equal parts, each being a shilling!



Figure 2. 8 Reale of Spanish Mexico

Coins.	Wt. dw. gr.	Mallachu Old Ten. s. d. l.	Lawful Money. s. d.	Sterling. l. s. d.
Gold				
Half Guinea	5 9 10	10 0 1	8 0 1	1 0
Moidore	1 10 5	5 0 0	14 0 0	10 6
4 Pistole Piece.	6 22 13	10 0 1	16 0 1	7 0
2 Pistole Piece.	17 8 33	0 2 4	8 0 3	6 0
1 Pistole	8 12 16	10 0 2	4 0 1	13 0
Double Johannes	3 3 8	8 0 3	2 0 0	10 6
Single Johannes	13 10 36	0 0 4	16 0 3	12 0
Half Johannes	2 5 23	0 0 2	8 0 1	16 0
Quarter Johannes	4 14 9	0 0 1	4 0 0	18 0
Crown Silver	3 7 11	10 0 0	12 0 0	9 0
Dollar	19 8 12	10 0 0	6 8 0	5 0
Half Dollar	17 12 3	5 0 0	6 0 0	4 6
Quarter Dollar	8 17 11	2 6 0	3 0 0	2 3
	4 9 0	11 3 0	1 6 0	1 1

N. B. One Ounce of Gold is worth Five Pounds, One Shilling and Fourpence Lawful; and an Ounce of Silver, Six Shillings and Eightpence. One Pennyweight of Gold is worth Five Shillings and Three Farthings; a Pennyweight of Silver, Fourpence. One Grain of Gold is worth Twopence Halfpenny. 24 Grains make 1 Pennyweight, 20 Pennyweights 1 Ounce, 12 Ounces 1 Pound.

Figure 3. Almanac, Courtesy of David Fanning

Back to the picture of the bills (Figure 1)... Look at the four faces and see if you can find where each note has an indication of value, in addition to the obvious fractions of a Dollar. Give it a try before turning the page...

Did you find them? Look in the four corners of the squares surrounding the sundials. The engraver of the printing plates placed circles in these corners corresponding to the value in shillings. The top left bill is $1/6$ Dollar, equal to one

shilling, and there is one circle in the top left corner of the square. The top right bill is $\frac{1}{3}$ Dollar, which is also $\frac{2}{6}$ Dollar, equal to two shillings. There are two dots in this square, one in each of the top corners. Following suit, the $\frac{1}{2}$ Dollar is worth 3 shillings and has three circles and the $\frac{2}{3}$ Dollar has four circles for four shillings.

So at first glance, these bills may have seemed impossible to use in commerce, but in reality, they were simply one, two, three and four shilling notes.

According to Eric Newman's "The Early Paper Money of America",³ there was a total of \$1,000,000 of these fractional notes printed. Newman goes on to state, "On the face of each fraction denomination directly under the top border and at the corners of the square enclosing the sundial device there are ornaments keyed to the denominations."

After reading Newman's observations, I can easily equate the circles in the squares to a shilling value. The ornaments in the serial number line ("directly under the top border") are another matter. If anyone can connect them to a value, I'd be interested in hearing. Otherwise, I'm of the opinion that they are just decorative.

Although it seems that I have wrapped up this paper in a neat tidy package, Eric Newman pointed out to me that, "The rate of 6 shillings to 1 Spanish dollar was current in New England, but not in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc. where it ranged from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 as your Almanack probably shows. Sterling exchange was 4s 6d to the Spanish dollar."⁴ This was something I had known but needed to be reminded of. So, the purchasing power of these notes, as with the Spanish Dollar, would vary depending on which colony you were conducting business.

I'd like to thank David Gladfelter for his encouragement (hard push) to write this paper. The excitement in his face when he heard my theory about the dots did my soul good. Thank you Eric Newman for reviewing an early draft, sharing information and always having a kind word. The old phrase "A Scholar and a Gentleman" was truly penned for Eric. And thank you David Fanning & Roger Siboni for providing images. As they say in NJ... Yous guys are da best!

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² Newman, Eric. "Benjamin Franklin and the Chain Design," *The Numismatist*, November 1983, p. 2271.

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⁴ Personal email communication with Eric Newman, June 4, 2008

ECCE GREX

(John N. Lupia III)

The reverse of the St. Patrick halfpenny has the legend: ECCE GREX. This has been historically and variably translated into modern English by numismatists to read as either: "SEE THE FLOCK,"¹ or, "BEHOLD THE FLOCK,"² or, "BEHOLD MY FLOCK."³

In 1840, this legend was characterized as hypocritical.⁴ This interpretation given by Anglican clergyman at this period was due to their bias and antagonism toward the Catholic Church since the coin and its legends were interpreted by them, and popularly, as ecclesiastical in nature.

The question arose in 1860 "what design is conveyed in the 'ECCE GREX' farthing of 1641?"⁵ Here we arrive at the crux of the question. Indeed, to grasp the intended meaning in the fashioning of this legend on the coin in the seventeenth century *source criticism* is the method required to ascertain what the coiners and the minting authorities intended to convey with this legend.

Regardless of whose authority or reign under which this halfpenny was minted, numismatists unanimously agree it belongs to the House of Stuart; coined in either the reign of Charles I, or, his son, Charles II. However, and curiously, the source of this legend can be found earlier in the reign of James I.

March, 1607, King's Speech concerning the Union:

For the first, what I crave; I protest before God, who knows my Heart, and to you my People, before whom it were a Shame to lye, that I claim nothing but with Acknowledgement of my Bond to you; that, as ye owe to me Subjection and Obedience, so my Sovereignty obligeth me to yield to your Love, Government and Protection: Neither did I ever wish any Happiness to myself, which was not conjoined with the Happiness of my People. I desire a perfect Union of Laws and Persons, and such a Naturalizing as may make One Body of both Kingdoms, under me your King; that I, and my Posterity of it so please God) may rule over you to the World's End; such an Union, as was of the Scots and Pickes in Scotland, and of the Heptarchy here in England. And for Scotland, I avow such an Union, as if you had got it by Conquest; but such a Conquest as may be cemented by Love, the only sure Bond of Subjection or Friendship: That as there is over both but unus Rex; so there may be in both but unus grex, et una lex: For no more possible is it for One King to govern Two Countries contiguous, the One a greater, the other a less; a richer, and a poorer; the greater drawing like an Adamant, the lesser to the Commodities thereof; than for One Head to govern Two Bodies, or One Man to be Husband of Two Wives; whereof Christ himself said, ab initio non fuit sic.

April, 1607

1. Set down perfectly by his Majesty. Unus Rex, unus grex, una lex. One Head, One Body, One Soul.”⁶

The rhyming element of the obverse and reverse legends FLOREAT REX and ECCE GREX come to life when reading James I’s speech for the unification of the kingdoms of England with that of Scotland. Undoubtedly, either Charles I, or, his son Charles II, perpetuated the Stuart phraseology originating with James I in this passionate and dramatic speech given before the House of Commons.

What either Charles intended was, no doubt, the same as their father or grandfather, the appeal for the unification of the kingdoms of England with that of Ireland in the legend ECCE GREX found on the St. Patrick halfpenny.

In seventeenth century England the intended reading of ECCE GREX would reflect that published in the speech of James I as: BEHOLD THE BODY. Regardless of which reign to which the St. Patrick coinage belongs – that of Charles I or Charles II – the reading would associate itself with that found in the *The Holy Gospel According to Saint John* “Ecce Homo,” (behold the man), (John 19:5), the words uttered by Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea, in the *Latin Vulgate*, regarding the corporal punishment inflicted by him on Jesus Christ, to appease those who pressed to have him crucified, in his emotional appeal to have him released.

It was King James I’s English translation of the *Latin Vulgate* and various extant Greek manuscripts of the New Testament that the translation “behold the man” has come down to this day. Perhaps, in the minds of either Charles, and with the massacre of 1641 in mind, the intention was to draw attention to the Church of Ireland as symbolically scourged, bound, and crowned with thorns like Christ.

ENDNOTES

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⁴ Review of John Yonge Ackerman, *A Numismatic Manual* (1840), in : *The Church of England Quarterly Review* , Vol. VIII, October (1840) : 498

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EAC/JRCS 2008 CONVENTION COVERAGE

(Kathy Lawrence)

The 2008 EAC/JRCS Convention that was held in Irving, Texas in May drew a number of C4 Members. In addition to the various opportunities to add to our collections, there were several educational seminars of particular interest to collectors of Colonial era numismatics.

Roger Siboni drew rave reviews for "An Evening with Roger Siboni" during which he provided an exceptional overview of selected coins, tokens and medals from the Colonial era. Roger, President of the American Numismatic Society and Associate Editor of *The C4 Newsletter*, began his Friday evening program with Bermuda's *Hogge Money* and concluded with the George Washington Funeral Medal by Perkins. Roger's enthusiasm and his slideshow of absolutely outstanding examples of the pieces he discussed captured the crowd's attention.

Tony Terranova's remarkable display of Vermont Coppers attracted many admirers. Ray Rouse's well-researched exhibit on the Libertas Americana medal was also of interest to many.

President Ray Williams led the C4 meeting that was held Saturday morning, with several C4 Members in attendance. Among the items discussed were several recently published books along with updates concerning several projects in the works.

Saturday's educational seminar offerings included a well-attended program by John Kraljevich on the Fugio Coppers of 1787. John served as a collaborator on Eric P. Newman's recently released book, *United States Fugio Copper Coinage of 1787*. The Colonial finances of the period were discussed along with Jefferson's notes on coinage, the Board of Treasury, the role of Congress, and the \$10,000 bribe paid to William Duer by James Jarvis in order to secure the contract to produce the coins. Congress managed to decide in one day, July 4, 1787, what the design of the first coins authorized by the United States should include! Congress voted to have Benjamin Franklin's sundial and linked Colonies designs that were featured on Continental Currency notes incorporated into the new coinage. John went on to discuss the various schemes of James Jarvis and the varieties of the Fugio coppers. John stressed that the coins should be properly referred to as the Fugio Coppers or the $\frac{3}{4}$ Fugio Cent because by May 1788 they were worth only $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent due to the decline in the value of copper against the dollar.

Anyone who missed the educational seminars or would like to view them again will have the opportunity to do so. The seminars at the 2008 EAC/JRCS Convention were recorded by David Lisot and are available for purchase via www.coinvideo.com or Advision, Inc., 3100 Arrowwood Lane, Boulder, CO 80303 or 1-800-876-2320.

Following are some candid photographs taken during the convention.



Bob Grellman



Chris McCawley



Tom Rinaldo



Roger Siboni Wows Them All



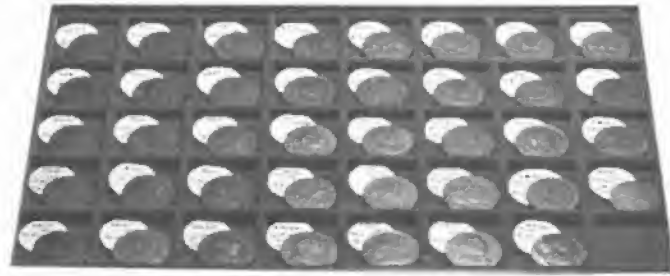
Doug Bird



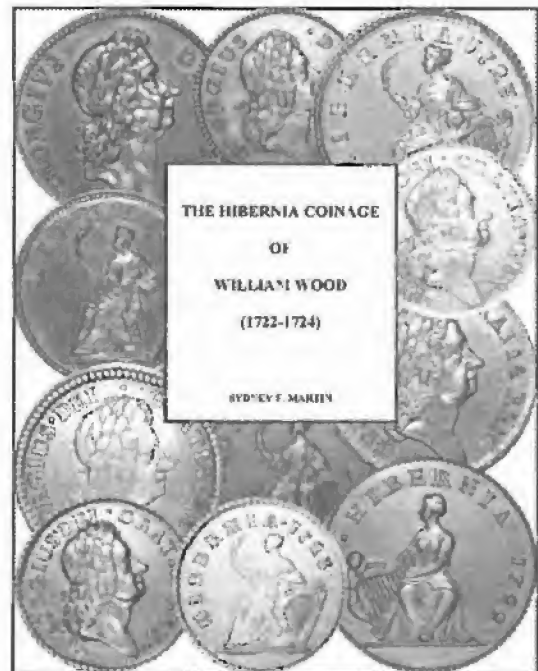
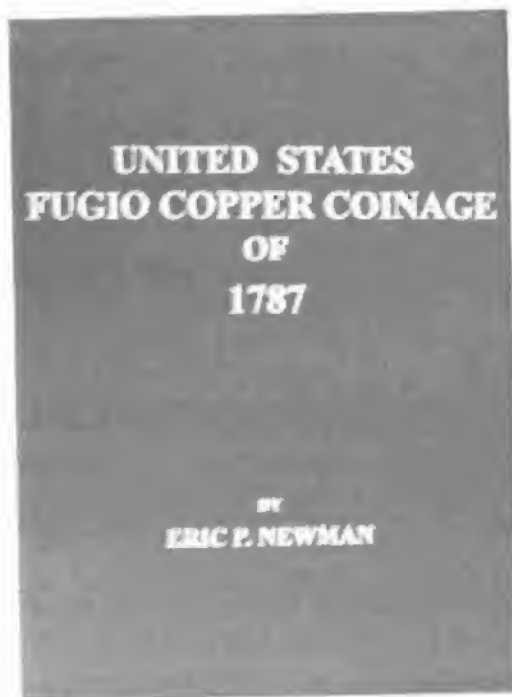
John Kraljevich Provides Insights



Jim McGuigan



Tony Terranova and his Incredible Collection of Vermont Coppers



At the EAC Convention, two of our members received the EAC Literary Award for 2008: Eric Newman for *The United States Fugio Copper Coinage of 1787* and Syd Martin for *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood, 1722-1724*. Congratulations to both!

THE FRENCH-AMERICAN CORNER

THE VEXATOR

(Marc Mayhugh)

Counterfeit British halfpence provide a very diverse and fascinating area of numismatics. The subject of this article is on one of the very last types of these forgeries to be manufactured, as well as one of the crudest and most misunderstood, the Canadian Vexator tokens.

The Canadian Vexator is a coarsely engraved halfpenny-size token produced in both copper and brass. The obverse of the coin depicts a scruffy, unrefined, and not so regal bust facing to the left, more reminiscent of a man wearing a coon skin cap than a regal profile. The legend is in Latin and can be translated as the "Trapper of Canada" or, depending on how the vague third letter of the first word is translated, (if an "X" rather than an "N"), it becomes "The Tormentor of Canada."¹ The reverse, of which there are two varieties, is equally crude and represents a seated "Britania." The reverse legend, RENUNILLOS VISCAPE, translates to, "Wouldn't you like to catch them," in reference to the fur bearing animals, or perhaps to the counterfeiters themselves. The pieces are dated 1811, with an extremely rare 1810 piece known.² In Charleton's *Canadian Tokens* they are called threefold evasions, designed to prevent the issuers from prosecution for sedition, forgery, and importing private tokens.

Most of the earlier authors on Canadian coinage believed the Vexator was a satirical piece that referred to Sir James Craig, an early, despotic British Governor as the "Tormentor of Canada." P. Napoleon Breton devoted several columns to Craig's tyrannical deeds to support his role as the "pest of Canada."³ Today, however, these tokens are generally thought to be ante-dated pieces produced in the 1830's and do not refer to Craig who died in 1811. Some suggest King William the IV, or the British Government in general as the "Tormentor" of Canada. Sandham, in 1862, merely referred to the tokens as "interesting, political-satirical tokens" and designated them as "the first coin or token of Canadian home manufacture." He notes that the native artist who labored in the production of this token, had evidently not been a student for any length of time in a school of design, but still it appears that he was pleased with his own work, for several different specimens of this spoiled piece of copper are found in circulation.⁴ It is of interest to note that even if produced in the 1830's, the tokens were still circulating in the 1860's.

Canadian numismatist R.W. McLachlan was probably the first author to challenge the 1811 date of the Vexators. He claims that their resemblance to Blacksmith tokens and having been struck on lightweight flans indicate that they belong to that series of tokens produced in the mid to late 1830's. He asserts the 1811 date was used by the leaders of alienated French Canadians in the 1837 rebellion because that (1811) is when the troubles began with Sir James Craig.⁵ He is more or less calling the Vexator a satirical, antedated, commemorative token. It seems rather strange and odd that

McLachlan would attack the 1811 date yet refuse to give up the connection to Craig. He further states in another conflicting citation that the token, "refers to William IV as the oppressor of Canada."⁶

McLachlan's criteria for dating the Vexator does not quite seem to wash either! The resemblance he sees to the Blacksmiths is, at best, minimal. To begin, there is very little resemblance between the two, if any at all, outside of the fact that they are both crude imitations and are struck in both copper and brass. The bust of the Vexator in no way, shape, or form comes off as regal whereas the Blacksmiths do, to a certain degree, depicting regal mail, ribbons, etc. The bust of the Vexator, in fact, appears to be that of a trapper or backwoodsman wearing a fringed jacket (see Breton 558 & 559). The Vexator is also quite crude when compared to the Blacksmiths, impossible as that might sound. For example, the reverse of Charlton VC-3 appears to have been cut by a child, and the reverse of VC-2 is so indistinct and feathery that it looks more like a rendition of a bird than seated Britannia.⁷ [Figure 1 provides illustrations of both the VC-2 and VC-3 Vexators, from the collection of Syd Martin.] The Vexators also differ from the Blacksmiths in that they carry legends, albeit in Latin, as well as a date, wishing their message to be known, while the Blacksmiths, in the traditional sense of imitations, want to appear inconspicuous and worn. Finally, if McLachlan saw a similarity to the Blacksmiths you would think someone else would have also. This is not the case! Vexators traditionally do not appear in large Blacksmith collections or sales, and if they do, they are always catalogued separately. A good example is the Warren Baker collection which appeared in the Taylor sale – not one Vexator was represented, although several crude counterfeit Spanish 2 reales were.⁸ Howland Wood did not include a Vexator in his classic study and attribution guide to Blacksmiths⁹ nor did Anton-Kesse in their *Forgotten Coins of North America*, although they did include several Blacksmiths and an imitation called a "Vexator-like halfpenny."¹⁰ None of the modern guides on Canadian coins include the Vexator with the Blacksmiths. Without a doubt, the Vexator comprises a separate and distinct class of Canadian counterfeits.

McLachlan's confinement of the Vexator to the late 1830's based solely on weight does not seem to make a lot of sense either, but he was the expert of the time and his opinion has been followed down through the ages, with Haxby and Willey telling us "the light and variable weight of these tokens also indicates that they were antedated, for nothing as light as these would have been acceptable in 1811."¹¹ While it is true that the Vexator is an extremely light coin, with Charleton giving the weight range as 2.9 - 6.5 grams, so were many of the other coins circulating in Canada at the beginning of the 19th Century. McLachlan, in the very same article that confines Vexator to the late 1830 era based on their light weight, laments the lack of Canadian coinage at this time, stating "no special coinage was provided, the same heterogeneous collection of French, Spanish, and Portuguese with a few British coins continued supplemented by the worn-out copper coins, including many counterfeits of George II and George III, discarded in the Mother Country after the great Cart Wheel coinage of 1797."¹² Taking this statement into account, there were clearly light-weight imitation British counterfeits and evasions circulating in Canada, many probably as light as the Vexator, as anyone familiar with these counterfeit pieces can attest.

Furthermore, there is documentation that flattened farthings circulated as halfpence in early Canada (smashed on an anvil, hence the term, Blacksmiths). Some appeared a decade or more before the late 1830's. In 1826-28, John McTaggart notes, "If a lot of farthings be taken into a smithery, and receive a blow from a sledge hammer on the anvil, they will then be excellent Canadian coppers, or halfpennies."¹³ A Warren Baker catalogue gives insight into the coinage of early Canada when he quotes an immigrant encouraging his brother to, "bring as many farthings as he can get and old halfpence, as they go for as much as a penny a piece, they call them 'coppers'."¹⁴ It would seem that if a farthing could pass as a halfpence, so too could a Vexator.

In a final reference to weight, one is referred to the amazing Vexator that appeared in Stack's September 1997 sale. Here, an extremely fine, brass specimen (lot 250) weighed in at a healthy 126.1 grains. This coin not only could have passed in 1811 Canada, but in America during the 1780's as well, outweighing many Connecticut and Machin's Mills coppers of the time.

The Vexator token appears to be a fairly elusive counterfeit and is probably quite rare although they occasionally turn up here and there. The ANS has at least six in their collection and the Bank of Canada has 19 in its reference collection.¹⁵ Breton called the Vexator a rarity R-3 and stated, "all specimens are poorly struck, and it is impossible to find any in good condition; such specimens should be accepted. They are becoming rare; three to four dollars being easily obtained for them." One must keep in mind that he is talking 1894 dollars.

Exactly who issued these strange tokens and why has remained a mystery. It has been suggested that they were produced by educated men, perhaps numismatists, familiar with evading counterfeit laws. Obviously, the Latin inscriptions and the 1811 date have some special significance, otherwise, why not use a nonsensical evasion legend, or as in the case of the Blacksmiths, no legend at all? Perhaps Breton's reference to Sir John Craig is not so far fetched after all, and even McLachlan was reluctant to disassociate himself from it entirely. On the other hand, maybe too much has been read into the legends and the tokens were just some simple homemade tribute to the fur trade which would have still been going strong in 1811 Canada.

As luck would have it, an article on the Vexator token was received shortly after this piece was finished that sheds a great deal of light on the Vexator. The article is called, "The Vexator Riddle," by Wayne L. Jacobs and was published in the *Canadian Numismatic Journal*, 1996. Jacobs explains that McLachlan antedated the Vexator because a group of good weight (130-140 grain) "Wellington" tokens arrived in Lower Canada in 1813, which were very well accepted. Jacobs points out that the Wellington's dropped in weight to 70 grains by 1816. He speculates that 100 grains was the minimal acceptable weight for this time period in lower Canada, and since the Vexator didn't come close to this, it could not have circulated at this time. He does mention what he calls an exceptional piece in the Bank of Canada that weighs 113.7, and later he mentions another piece that is double the weight of most Vexators. He believes this was a

presentation piece. All this makes for a very confusing view of early Canadian coinage to the American neophyte. First, according to McLachlan, we have all the British rubbish, counterfeits, foreign trash, etc. arriving and circulating in Lower Canada until the arrival of some good weight Wellington's (struck over Guppy Tokens) in 1813, which somehow precludes the circulation of an 1811 dated piece early in the century. Then we have the Wellington's dropping drastically in weight until they were down to 70 grains by 1816, over a mere three years according to Jacobs. By the 1820's, anything would pass for currency, and we have farthings smashed into halfpennies or pennies, and finally the Blacksmiths came along, which we can assume ended the whole mess.

Jacobs has a very compelling reason for why the weight of the Vexators didn't really matter at all. He doesn't believe they circulated as money, instead they served as some sort of secret hunting lodge tokens for a group of rebels during the 1838 rebellion. The hunters known as "Les Freres Chasseurs" served in a secret society much as the Free Masons did with initiations, symbols, etc., one of which involved the Vexator token. Jacob maintains the Vexators "were not initially meant to be spent as coin but rather that they be used as lodge passes, disguising themselves as simply another variety of Blacksmith token that were only too prevalent."¹⁶ He claims the leaders of the 1838 rebellion were mostly from the professional class, French speaking and classically educated in the seminaries. Because of their classic background the hunters could use Latin legends on the Vexators and befuddle the British. A few of his ideas might be stretching it a bit, but, all-in-all, a very convincing theory which certainly deserves merit.

In the end, Jacobs nominates Sir John Colborne as the Vexator or "Pest of Canada" for his thrashing of the French rebels in 1837. To the rebels Colborne was regarded as the devil incarnate and may well have deserved the title. Regardless of who the Vexator was, it sure makes for an interesting coin.

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⁹ Wood, Howland, "The Canadian Blacksmith Coppers," (reprinted in) *Canadian Tokens and Medals*, edited by Hoch. Pp. 144-53.

¹⁰ Anton, William T. & Bruce Kesse, *Forgotten Coins of the North American Colonies*, Krause Publications, 1992.

¹¹ Haxby & Willey, *op cit.*, p. 192.

¹² McLachlan, "Coins of Canada," *op cit.*, p. 7.

¹³ Elliott, Timothy, "Some Notes and Speculations on an Early Canadian Accumulation," *Canadian Numismatics; A Collection of papers on Canadian Historical Numismatic Subjects*, edited by Warren Baker, Montreal, 1997. p. 59.

¹⁴ Baker, Warren, *Catalogue #33*, p.12

¹⁵ Personal correspondence with the curators at these two institutions.

¹⁶ Jacobs, Wayne L., *The Canadian Numismatic Journal*, March 1996. p.69.

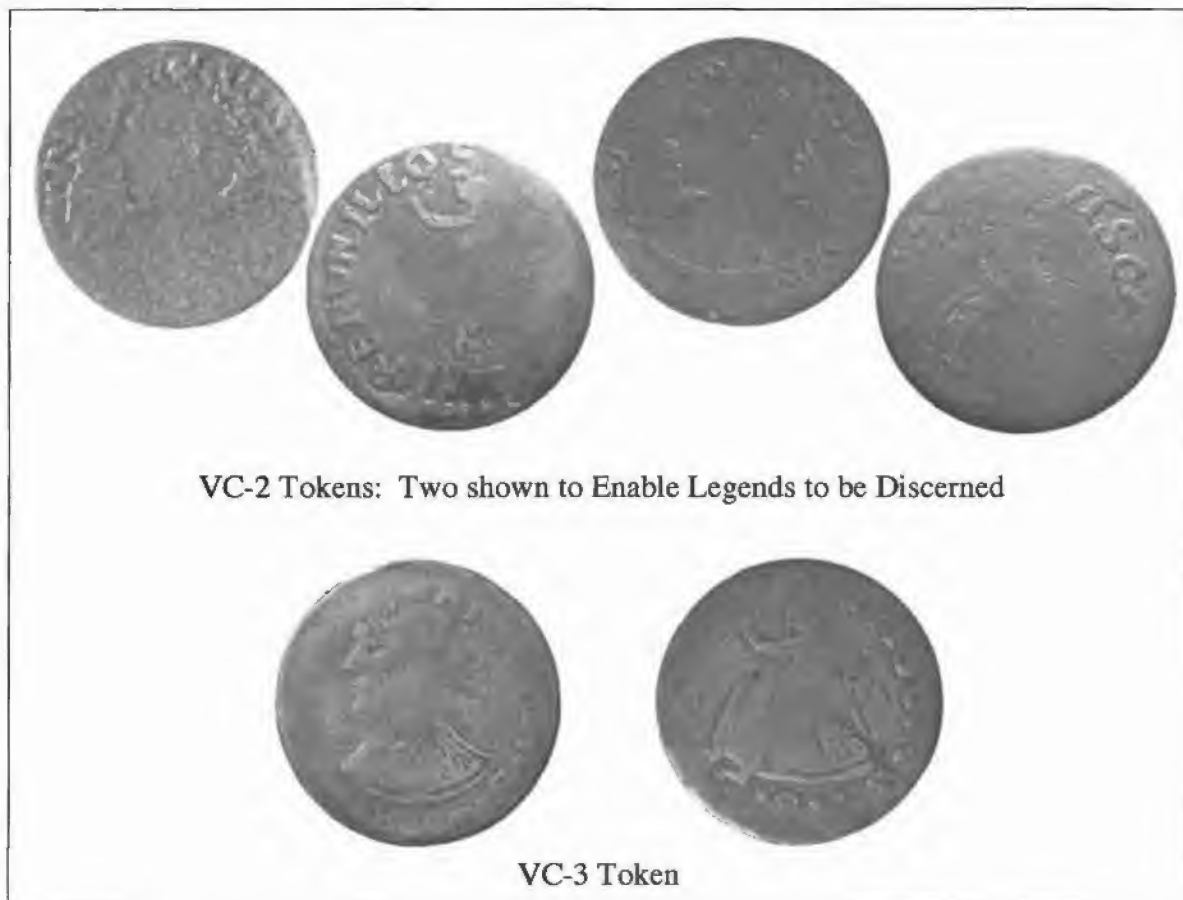


FIGURE 1. VEXATOR TOKENS

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

(Ray Williams)

Montroville Dickeson, in his Numismatical Manual published in 1859, gave the first attempt at classifying NJ Coppers by die variety. Dickeson considered the shield side of the coin as the obverse and attributed his varieties only by the horse and dated side of the coin. He totally ignored the shield side in his attributions. Although a crude system, it was a beginning.

In Dickeson's description of die #12 of 1787, he states, "*In this type the beam has as decided a curve as a sleigh-runner, -a name by which it is known among collectors.*" Dickeson's NJ 1787 die #12 is obviously the Maris 44 obverse plated here. He also stated that the "sleigh-runner" name was being used by collectors, his contemporaries, in 1859. Who were these early collectors that studied NJ coppers closely enough to give a certain variety a name? How long were they doing this? Whoever the first collector was in the early 1800s that noticed the similarity between the plow beam and a sleigh runner, I thank him for adding a respected tradition to our hobby – fanciful nicknames.

This pictured coin brings back good memories of Tom Madigan. I remember vividly Tom studying this coin at a C4 Convention in Boston and getting so excited about all the reverse die cracks. He said it was the latest die state of the "d" reverse he had seen and possibly the terminal die state. Tom was just short of jumping up and down! It's that excitement and enthusiasm shared by colonial collectors that makes our small niche in the hobby so much fun!



THOMAS MACHIN: DESERTER FROM 23rd REGIMENT OF FOOT, ROYAL WELCH FUSILIERS

(Don N. Hagist*)

Much of the information in this paper comes from John L. Bell, whose web site on Boston during the American Revolution is an extraordinary source of information (<http://boston1775.blogspot.com>), and Brendan Morrissey, author of several books and contributor of the muster roll information used for the recently-released book *Fusiliers* by Mark Urban.

Biographers of Thomas Machin present him as the second son of a prominent British mathematician of the same name, and describe a life that included education at the military academy at Woolwich, service at the battle of Dettingen during the Seven Years War, and then an early exit from the army and subsequent work on the first barge canal in England under the famous engineer James Bindley, followed by a journey to America in 1772 to pursue a copper mining venture.

He is cast as a vigorous supporter of revolutionary activities in Boston, being placed at the Boston Tea Party and Bunker Hill. His career as an officer in the Continental army is a matter of record, and was both distinguished and turbulent. He established himself as an engineer during the siege of Boston; Washington, who called him "Lieut. Machine," described him as "an ingenious Man." After having a hand in establishing the American batteries on Dorchester Heights that were the undoing of the Boston garrison, Washington sent him to evaluate the practicality of excavating a canal across Cape Cod. Although Machin declared it feasible, the project was not actually undertaken until more than a century later.

Moving on to the New York area, Machin became a close associate of New York Governor George Clinton, and made a name for himself designing defenses to prevent British shipping from traveling up the Hudson River, particularly by erecting a chain across the river at West Point. He became a Captain in Colonel John Lamb's regiment of artillery and served in the 1779 expedition against the Indian nations in western New York. After the war, he established mills in Newburgh, New York, and undertook the minting of coins, eventually receiving contracts from the government.

Machin's service was not, however, without controversy. His favor from Governor Clinton brought him the jealousy of other officers, not surprising for a rising star. His handling of finances associated with the West Point chain project brought scrutiny and accusations that he sought personal gain. His claim of having been wounded during the assault on Fort Montgomery was called into question. When he married a New York woman in 1782 there were rumors that he had already been married to a Boston woman, but these were not substantiated. In September of that year he was tried by general court martial for irregularities while working as a recruiting officer and was found guilty, but sentenced only to a reprimand and stoppage of pay. His minting operation, while successful, began by counterfeiting British copper coins that remained in widespread circulation after the war. He was among many men who sued for losses

suffered during the British occupation of New York, claiming to have had a residence on Long Island even though he never lived there (in fairness, the claim could have been associated with his wife). Through all of this, he seems to have kept hidden one aspect of his background: that he was a deserter from the British Army.

The muster rolls of the 23rd Regiment of Foot show that Thomas Machin joined Major Harry Blunt's company on 17 February 1773 when the regiment was at Plymouth Dock barracks preparing to embark for America. His subsequent activities make it clear that he was well educated, so we can only speculate on his reasons for joining the army. He may have been seeking advancement, fleeing some unknown impropriety, or any number of other possibilities. Whatever the reason, his new pursuit as a soldier brought him with the regiment to New York for service there and in New Jersey. This was followed by a voyage to Boston the following year. His later claims of having come from England to New Jersey in 1773 are true, but they were hardly associated with a copper mining venture – unless Machin had an agenda he did not share with his officers.

While little is known of Machin's British Army service, it is clear that his mechanical and engineering skills were recognized; in Boston he invented a type of gun carriage that allowed cannons to pivot when emplaced in fortifications. War broke out in April 1775, and the night of 26-27 July of that year found Machin posted as one of two sentries on a fire boat in the Charles River, a craft so called because it held combustibles to be used either as a beacon or as an obstacle to hostile boats approaching the garrison. The city of Boston was almost an island, situated on a peninsula connected to the adjacent land by a narrow neck that was by this time well fortified. Machin took advantage of his sentry posting to make his escape. A canoe provided access to the fire boat from the shore. Machin waited until his fellow sentry had lain down to rest during the night, took both of their firelocks and rowed across the river to the besieging army. While not offering any reason for his flight, two British officers made note of Machin's probable value to the opposing army, one saying that he was "a sensible intelligent fellow, some knowledge of fortification and Gunnery," and another asserting that "this fellow will give them good intelligence of our Works, for he was a pretty good Mechenik & knew a little of fortification." There was some rumor that Machin was deliberately sent by the British to the American lines to gather intelligence, false claims that nonetheless testify to his capabilities. He left behind personal effects including books and drawing instruments, items that he would easily replace in the colonies.

The association of Machin with the mathematician of the same name may have been Machin's own invention, a claim made to give him more favorable standing in America. Biographies of the mathematician Thomas Machin indicate that he was unmarried and had no offspring. It is possible that Machin was involved in British canal work in some capacity, because he was chosen to survey a Cape Cod canal – but this too could have been the result of fabrication rather than genuine experience. It is of particular interest to note that the muster rolls of the 23rd Regiment suggest that he was Irish rather than English.

*Author of *A British Soldier's Story: Roger Lamb's Narrative of the American Revolution*, available from <http://ballindalloch-press.com>.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

From Randy Clark: I found the following notice in the *New Haven Chronicle* of Tuesday, 6 February 1787, Volume I, No 43, which was published by Daniel Bowen, Chapel Street, New Haven. Did anything result from this?

NEW-HAVEN, Feb. 6.
The assembly of Rhode-Island, at their late session, granted liberty to a number of private gentlemen to establish a mint in that state, for coining silver and copper money, agreeably to the resolves of Congress on that subject.

David Palmer responded: Randy, As we were operating under the Articles of Confederation at that point, until the Constitution was finally ratified in 1789, it seems to me that Rhode Island could do what it wanted until then. I had never seen that quote before, and find it interesting. It would be even more interesting to see how far the proposal was actually taken.

Jim Spilman forwarded a note from Eric Newman related to this: I have never known of the 1787 Rhode Island activity to coin money in 1787, but states had the right under the Articles of Confederation to coin money so long as it met the Federal standard for specific denominations, with which Massachusetts actually did comply. The Fugio coinage did not meet that standard as all of us have known for a long time, and that is why I made a point of recommending that we stop referring to the FUGIO coinage as a "cent" coinage.

Perhaps the Rhode Island people were not able to place their bribes in the right hands. Perhaps the counterfeit British halfpence copper operations described in 1787 in a Rhode Island newspaper as Bungtown coinage (see my 1976 ANS article) was taking place very near the border of Rhode Island in Rehobeth MA was the reason.

A Follow Up from Randy: That same paragraph appears in *The Connecticut Gazette and The Universal Intelligencer* dated Friday, January 26, 1787. That newspaper comes out of New London, published by Timothy Green (same guy who printed CT colonial notes), Vol XXIV, No. 1211.


Based on seeing that before in the New Haven paper, I basically assumed it was the New Haven coiners trying to expand into Rhode Island. Now that I see this in a New London

newspaper ... which in colonial times was lightyears away ... I'm thinking it's less likely the New Haven coiners were involved. New London is closer to Rhode Island, of course.

I'll be checking the Rhode Island newspapers.


A Second Follow Up from Randy: Well, I found the relevant Rhode Island newspaper, reproduced below with the relevant section highlighted.

[Volume IV.] T H E [Number 159.]



UNITED STATES CHRONICLE:

Political, Commercial, and Historical.



Published by BENNETT WHEELER, in Westminster-Street, PROVIDENCE.

PROVIDENCE, JANUARY 11.

The Honorable General Assembly of this State, which convened at East-Greenwich on Monday the 25th of last Month, adjourned, on Saturday Evening last, to the Second Monday in March next, then to meet at South-Kingstown, in the County of Washington.

During this Session, besides the Acts published in this Day's Paper, an Act was passed for raising the Impost on imported Articles to Five per Cent. Also, an Act empowering the General-Treasurer to pay One-fourth Part of all Securities now against the State, which may be presented to him for Payment, except *Four per Cent. Notes* (so called) and those Securities which originated from them. —An Act was likewise passed allowing the Lodgments of Money to satisfy Debts, to be made with any of the Judges of the Inferior Courts in the State. —A Tax of 20,000*l.* lawful Money, was also agreed to, to be apportioned and assessed at next Session—to be appropriated towards the Discharge of the State Debt. —A Petition from a Number of private Gentlemen, for Liberty to establish a Mint within this State, to coin Silver and Copper Money, agreeable to the Resolves of Congress on that Subject, was granted; and a Committee appointed to draft a Bill for the Purpose, to be reported at the next Session. —An Act was also passed for laying an Excise on certain enumerated Articles: This Act to commence the 15th of May next, and the Monies arising to be "appropriated to the Payment of the Notes and Orders issued by the General-Treasurer, and the contingent Charges of Government." —As this Act is lengthy, a Copy could not be procured timely for this Paper, but it will appear in our next.



Loseph R. Lasser, 22 June 2008:

The C4 Newsletter always gives me more to think about – because it brings more knowledge each time it arrives. It very clearly shows how much broader and deeper Colonial – or you may want to term it Pre-Federal – numismatic research has grown over the past three decades.

The studies, monographs and commentaries take us back to a bullion world when money was measured by its precious metal content, not whose image or what emblems were borne by the coins; it was a question of was it “good” metal? And the primary coin metal was silver with gold varying up or down from the governing silver standard, and copper coins struck for circulation by both governments and private parties. So, during the Pre-Federal period – and until 1857 – we had a free-for-all in a legal sense.

Because precious metal content was what mattered to tradesmen, merchants and bankers, small transactions gave rise to clipped coins, cut coins and copper pieces struck by private individuals and atypical governmental institutions. Gold and high value transactions varied not only from the basic silver standard, but also from colony to colony conforming to that specific colony’s legislated acts passed by that colonial government. So, today we see countermarked, plugged, edge adjusted and even counterfeit (high carat, low weight) coins that were accepted without question in commercial transactions. The light weight coins (many of them Brazilian imitations made in Birmingham, England) were accepted simply at their gold weight.

It was a bullion world, and in order to link that world of the past – and its data – to the world of today, could I suggest that researchers use the word *real*; not *reale* when describing Latin American coins. *Real* is the proper singular word and *reales* not *reals* is the proper plural.

For confirmation, just look at the following:

1947 – Frey, Alberto, *Dictionary of Numismatic Names*, p. 198

1974 – Munoz, Miguel, *The Coinages of Latin America & The Caribbean – Anthology*, p. 68

1978 – Pradeau (Durst Reprint), *Numismatic History of Mexico*, pp. 42-43

1982 – Doty, *The MacMillan Encyclopedic Dictionary of Numismatics*, pp. 276-77

1998 – Calico, Calico & Trigo, *Numismatica Espanola 1474-1998*

2007 – Sedwick, Daniel & Frank, *The Practical Book of Cobs, 4th Edition*, p. 11

And now you can smile; two people that have made the reale/real error are Robert Nesmith who was a major American researcher in Latin American numismatics as early as the 1950’s – and, yes, Joe Lasser – I did it in the Feversham Hoard article for the *Numismatist* of February, 1989.

Don't continue to make the (same mistake) I made – and explain it to Eric Hildebrant.

His recapitulation of the Feversham Hoard was excellent, but I believe his estimate of the number of Massachusetts silver pieces is much higher than what Robert MacKinnon found.

To recapitulate: There were only 92 pieces of Massachusetts silver on the Christie's listing of the auction on 7 February 1989. Yes, there were other pieces taken by the Canadian Government and lesser numbers associated with the Jeffrey Hoare attempted sale and minor diver losses. But "two hundred oaks and pines" (*C4 Newsletter*, vol 16, no. 1, p. 10) seems excessive to me. 'Nuff said.

I've taken the liberty to send three Feversham inventory breakdown sheets hoping they will be useful (Tables 1, 2, and 3).

All good wishes –

Joe Lasser

Latin America		500
Bolivia	314	
Mexico	118	
Peru	57	
Nuevo Reino	2	
Unknown	9	
Massachusetts Silver		92
Netherlands		22
England		8
Spain		5
Unknown		9
TOTAL		636

TABLE 1
FEVERSHAM COINS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

	1/2 Real	1 Real	2 Reales	4 Reales	8 Reales	TOTAL
Potosi	1	220	77	4	12	314
Mexico	35	33	14	15	21	118
Lima	0	43	9	1	4	57
Nuevo Reino	0	0	1	1	0	2
Latin American (not determinable)	0	9	0	0	0	9
TOTAL	36	305	101	21	37	500

TABLE 2. LATIN AMERICAN SILVER

	Whole Pieces	Clipped	Cut for Commerce	TOTAL
New England Shilling	1	0	0	1
Willow Tree Shillings	4	0	0	4
Oak Tree Shillings	18	8	1	27
Pine Tree Shillings	40	13	5	58
Pine Tree Sixpences	1	0	0	1
Unidentifiable	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	65	21	6	92

TABLE 3. MASSACHUSETTS SILVER

[illegible]

Lou Jordan, 4 July 2008: Eric and Geoff (with the help of Clem) produced a wonderful study on cut Massachusetts silver. I enjoyed stopping by their table at the last C4 convention, while they were examining and weighing specimens. I am also pleased they were able to publish their results so quickly. The authors made some interesting comments in their article that are worth further study, particularly significant is Eric's suggestion relating clipped Massachusetts silver weights to Spanish American coinage. I thought I should share a few random thoughts about clipped Massachusetts silver, hoping to expand on what they said and to encourage them to continue with this useful and interesting research .

There is no doubt that clipping took place throughout the era of the Hull mint. Indeed, Hull and Sanderson clipped planchets during the minting process as a method of reducing overweight coinage. This can be surmised from some of the existing full weight specimens such as the two examples of the Noe 1 large planchet Pine Tree shillings I discuss on pp. 302-303 of my book on Hull. Thus, some clipping was performed legally, before the coins were emitted. Illegal post-emission clipping also occurred from an early date. Legislation passed on October 19, 1652, just about six weeks after the opening of the mint on September 1st, stated that to prevent clipping the coin design would be changed from a simple NE obverse and roman numeral reverse to include a rim inscription within a double ring and a central image. I would not assume that clipping was widespread during these early weeks of the operation of the mint but rather, that the legislature realized something should be done to reduce the risk of clipping by making it easier to detect.

Geoff mentioned some large planchet shillings were cut down to the small planchet size, apparently with the intention that they could be passed at full value as small planchet shillings. Obviously, this scam must have begun soon after the small planchet variety was introduced. In 1679, (which was during the small planchet era)

Peter Loephilin was convicted of clipping Massachusetts silver when a crucible, a ladle for melting and a strong pair of shears were uncovered in a locked chest he owned. No doubt there were several other coin clippers who were not caught. It occurs to me any large planchet shilling that had been cut down a little too much, so that passing it off at full value might be questionable, would be a good candidate for reduction to the small planchet size. One might hope that by cutting a somewhat questionable large planchet coin down even further to small planchet size, it might pass without notice! Of course, although it is possible some large planchets were cut down to small planchet size soon after the small planchet coins were issued, it is likely some large planchets were reduced at a later date, after the mint was closed.

Both authors mentioned that Massachusetts silver continued to circulate long after the mint closed (that is, by June 1682). In fact, even during the Confederation era Massachusetts shillings were being counterfeited. For example, the *Massachusetts Spy or Worcester Gazette*, vol .14, no. 679, Thursday, April 29, 1784, p. 3 column 3 explains Timothy Queen was fined £40 for “uttering counterfeit hard money” and was whipped twenty stripes and made to stand one hour in the pillory “for having in his custody tools for counterfeiting piastreens, and stamps for counterfeiting New England shillings.” Massachusetts silver circulated throughout the colonial period and traveled far beyond the borders of Massachusetts Bay.

Some recovered Massachusetts coins may have been lost while the mint was in operation, others, like those from the Feversham hoard, continued in circulation into the next century, while some surviving Massachusetts silver remained in circulation through the end of the colonial era. Precisely when and where a specific coin was clipped is very hard to determine; indeed, a single coin may have been clipped on more than one occasion. The clipped weights that we can currently measure reflect final clipping losses.

Eric’s hypothesis that trimmed coins may have been further cut down to the weight of Spanish-American denominations seems quite plausible. I suspect this final clipping occurred during the period after the Massachusetts mint had closed. However, some “Spanish weight” specimens could reflect earlier clipping, particularly if the coins had made their way to the West Indies. However, generally, I would suspect surviving clipped Massachusetts coins sustained their final clipping during the 18th century when Spanish-American coinage was the standard for silver. In that era, previously clipped, and even unclipped Massachusetts silver, could have been cut down to equal Spanish reale values so that the coins could easily be accommodated along with Spanish American silver. Coins tendered in a transaction would be weighed, therefore, trimming Massachusetts coins to a specific reale value by weight would facilitate exchanges.

It would be interesting to record the weights of Massachusetts silver from various datable hoards to determine if weight differentials of clipped specimens changed over time. It is my impression that Massachusetts silver often circulated by tale during the era of the mint and probably through the late 17th century. However, in 1694, the price of silver started to increase above its face value on coinage, causing many to treat silver coinage as a commodity during the 18th century. This was particularly true in the

American colonies, where Spanish-American, with a mix of other foreign coinage, was the primary silver available. During this period silver coins were weighted rather than traded by tale. By the late 1720s all colonial clipping laws were repealed (for Maryland, see footnote 196 in my Lord Baltimore article, CNL 126, p. 2713). Since coinage was weighed, clipping was no longer viewed as a means of cheating people. Geoff mentioned an example of pervasiveness of clipping in the 1728 *Intelligencer* article. Clearly, during this era, clipping Massachusetts silver would be considered a useful rather than an illegal operation.

I do not mean to imply that the authors suggested the clipping they measured was from the Hull era. Indeed, Eric implies his theory of clipping to Spanish weight equivalents reflects an 18th century practice. Rather, as I mentioned above, I thought it would be useful to share a few random thoughts on this interesting topic.

All best,

Lou Jordan, South Bend, IN



HISTORICAL NOTE

From *The Boston News-Letter*, 11-18 May 1719, p. 4, datelined New York, 11 May:

“A person last Week was committed to Goal here for uttering Counterfeit Pieces of Eight, he was taken with 21, and a double Bitt, they are nicely Counterfeited, he brought them from Simsbury in Connecticut, from the Copper Mines, where ‘tis believed they are made, he had bought Quick Silver, Crude Tattar &c. for making more.”

NOW IS THE TIME TO CONSIDER SELLING SOME OF YOUR COLONIAL COINS – BE THEY DUPLICATES OR ITEMS THAT ARE SIMPLY NOT MAIN-STREAM TO YOUR COLLECTING INTERESTS. THE C4 AUCTION HELD DURING OUR ANNUAL CONVENTION ATTRACTS A LARGE NUMBER OF QUALIFIED, COLONIAL-ORIENTED COLLECTORS, AND PRICES REALIZED IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN EXCEPTIONAL. NOT ONLY WILL YOU HAVE GREAT EXPOSURE AND FUNDS TO FURTHER YOUR COLLECTING INTERESTS, BUT YOU WILL ALSO HELP THE CLUB. SO, IF YOU HAVE ONE COIN OR MANY, CALL CHRIS McCRAWLEY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] OR BOB GRELLMAN [REDACTED] TO DISCUSS PLACING THEM IN THE 2009 C4 AUCTION!

C4 Offers Important Colonial Books

For more information on the following three books, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), as well as joining the club, visit the C4 website at www.colonialcoins.org. These books may be ordered directly from: Charles Davis, Numismatic Literature, P.O. Box 547, Wenham, MA 01984; Tel: 978-468-2933; email: numislit@aol.com.



“John Hull, The Mint, and The Economics of Massachusetts Coinage”
(Lou Jordan)

The second book published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) is still available for purchase, *John Hull, The Mint and The Economics of Massachusetts Coinage* by numismatic scholar Louis Jordon. This comprehensive book was released in 2002, the 350th anniversary of the establishment of the Massachusetts mint.

The book began with a request to write a chronology of the Massachusetts Mint for *The Colonial Newsletter*, Jordan writes. He started with Sylvester Crosby's long chapter on Massachusetts silver in *The Early Coins of America* but soon found many other references not in Crosby as well as other primary source material. One of the most revealing, Jordan writes, were the account books of John Hull which yielded very interesting information.

This book is a study of the mint at Massachusetts Bay and the economic factors that impacted it. In it, Jordan updates the documentation in Crosby by including the major edited sources and selected secondary research from the past 125 years. He has also put into historical context the economics and politics of the seventeenth century Massachusetts Bay Colony.

This book is the reference standard on Massachusetts Silver Coinage and will continue to be for years to come. The hardcover book with dust jacket has over 300 pages of information, illustrations, charts and photos. Contact Ray Williams, [REDACTED]



**"The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood (1722-1724)
(Syd Martin)**

Wood's Hibernia coppers, those half-pence and farthings made under British Royal patent for use in Ireland during the 1722-24 period, created an immediate controversy pitting the British government against the Irish Patriots. Economics, self-governance, merchantilism, colonial exploitation – all became issues reaching far beyond coinage. King George I, Isaac Newton, Jonathan Swift, Archbishop King, Robert Walpole, the King's mistress – all became central figures in a drama central to the times.

In addition to exploring the historical backdrop for the issuance of these coins, the author has addressed how they were made and where they were produced. Particular attention is paid to the fabrication of the dies used to strike the coins as well as the preparation of the planchets on which they were struck. He has identified a total of 57 different farthing varieties and 228 different halfpence varieties, and prepared descriptions and pictures of each, often in multiple die states. Aggregate production quantities are estimated and rarities deduced for each variety. Their relationship to the American Colonies is explored, as well as their claim to being within the corpus of American Colonial Coins. This book promises to be a seminal work for the understanding and study of Wood's Hibernia coins.



“An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas”
(Robert Vlack)

The third monograph published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) is *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas* by the noted numismatist Robert A. Vlack. This is the first comprehensive guide to the billon coinages that circulated in the French colonies of the Americas, which included Canada, Louisiana and the French West Indies. An 18-page introduction discusses the history of the coins and includes a rarity listing of the various counterstamped billon coins authorized for use in Canada during the seventeenth century. This is followed by an extensive and well-illustrated catalogue of the coins (pp. 20-157) reflecting more than 30 years of research by Vlack on this topic. The catalog proceeds from the *Mosquetaires* of 30 and 15 *deniers* to the billon *Sous Marqués* and Half-*Sous Marqués* and then to contemporary counterfeits. It next includes a full listing of billon coinage and counterstamped billon coins of the French West Indies, as well as a discussion of the coins known as “black dogs.”

In the catalogue every denomination is divided into sections, one section for each of the various French mints producing that denomination; some denominations were issued from as many as 30 different mints! Each mint section contains an explanation of all the mintmasters and engravers associated with that mint during the years of issue. The specific coins from the mint are then cataloged by year with annotations on mintage, rarity and variants. There are numerous illustrations with enlarged details of overdates and errors that are especially useful to the user in identification. This is the first time such information has been made available in English.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW DUES INFORMATION.....

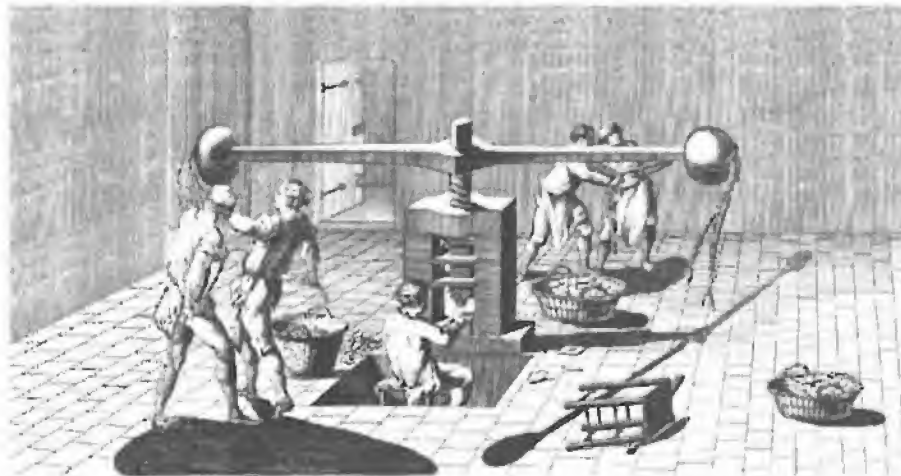
C4 dues have increased to \$25 per year!

We have suspended accepting Life Membership Applications while the C4 Board seeks advice with respect to restructuring the costs vs. expenses.



THE COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

A Research Journal in Early American Numismatics



Are you interested in the latest findings in the field of early American numismatics? If so, *The Colonial Newsletter (CNL)* is for you. Now in its 47th year, *CNL* has published some of the most important studies in this field. *CNL* is published three times a year by The American Numismatic Society (ANS). For more information contact Megan Fenselau at the ANS: e-mail fenselau@numismatics.org; telephone (212) 571-4470 Ext. 1311. Go to the ANS website at www.numismatics.org/cnl/ to subscribe online or download a subscription form.

C4 LIBRARY NEWS

(Leo Shane)

Part 2 of the Mike Ringo Literature Auction is now history, with its results summarized on the following page. "Thank You" to all who participated. The auction raised an additional \$705.00 for the club. This brings the total from both Auctions plus lots sold at the Convention Auction to \$2,706.50. This concludes the dispersal of books from Mike's library that were duplicate or Non-Colonial. It also concludes, for the present, the dispersal of books from the C4 library which were triples, quadruples or more.

It is also important to report that we have accumulated 18 books, booklets and journals which will be donated to the Veterans Hospital in Florida. Your Librarian is getting the information needed to make this happen. These were mostly items from The Mike Ringo Library as well as some from the C4 Library.

I promised in the last *Newsletter* that I would catalog the 20 or so books and slide sets donated from the EAC Library. I have not yet done so but this activity has risen much higher on my "to do" list. In the meantime, if you think there is something of interest that you need, just ask.

There were no new book donations since the last newsletter, however, we continue to get complimentary issues of Stacks Auction Catalogs (No Major Colonial Auctions this period), *The Colonial Newsletter* (From ANS), and *Penny Wise* (from EAC). Thanks go to them for their continued donations to the C4 Library. A complete list of library holdings and instructions on how to borrow them is available at the C4 website www.colonialcoins.org.

Suggestions for additions to the library are always appreciated. Please consider donating books, auction catalogs, etc. to the library. Remember, those who are learning about colonials now are those who will be buying your coins later. Thank you, my e-mail is Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com or write to me at [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

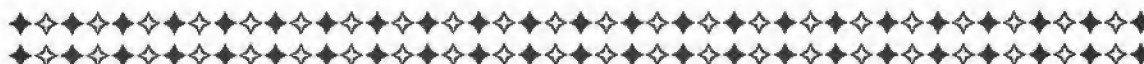
C4 Library Auction #2

A Selection of Non Colonial & Duplicate Colonial Books from the
Mike K. Ringo Library along with other Colonial Duplicates from the C4 Library
(Ended 29 June 2008)

LOT	# Bidders	Winning Bid*	LOT	# Bidders	Winning Bid*
Lot #1	1	\$5.00	Lot #26	2	\$13.00
Lot #2	2	\$12.00	Lot #27	3	\$80.00
Lot #3	1	\$5.00	Lot #28	3	\$60.00
Lot #4	2	\$30.00	Lot #29	2	\$7.00
Lot #5	3	\$32.50	Lot #30	2	\$12.00
Lot #6	0	to Veterans Hospital	Lot #31	1	\$6.00
Lot #7	2	\$9.00	Lot #32	2	\$24.50
Lot #8	1	\$5.00	Lot #33	3	\$24.50
Lot #9	1	\$5.00	Lot #34	1	\$5.00
Lot #10	1	\$5.00	Lot #35	3	\$37.50
Lot #11	0	to Veterans Hospital	Lot #36	1	\$7.50
Lot #12	3	\$12.00	Lot #37	1	\$20.00
Lot #13(Judd)	3	\$21.00	Lot #38	1	\$5.50
Lot #13(VA)	1	\$5.00	Lot #39	1	\$5.00
Lot #14	1	\$5.00	Lot #40	2	\$21.00
Lot #15	2	\$22.00	Lot #41	1	\$5.00
Lot #16	2	\$9.00	Lot #42	3	\$8.00
Lot #17	0	to Veterans Hospital	Lot #43	3	\$21.00
Lot #18	1	\$5.00	Lot #44	2	\$9.00
Lot #19	1	\$5.00	Lot #45	2	\$19.00
Lot #20	3	\$10.00	Lot #46	3	\$11.00
Lot #21	2	\$7.00	Lot #47	2	\$6.00
Lot #22	1	\$6.00	Lot #48	1	\$5.00
Lot #23	2	\$10.00	Lot #49	2	\$9.00
Lot #24	3	\$23.00	Lot #50	4	\$22.00
Lot #25	3	\$13.00	Auction Total		\$705.00

Note: 14 different winners, 17 different bidders

* Reduced to one increment over the second highest bid. Does not include Postage



CLASSIFIED ADS

Ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows:

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Covers cost somewhat more (please inquire). If you want to include a photo with your ad there will be an additional \$10 charge. A black and white photo will be needed, but the size can be adjusted. Please send check with your ad. We accept camera-ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file. All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 10 lines of text.

NOTICE: The Colonial Coin Collectors Club does not review the ads provided for accuracy, nor does it

Our latest Fixed Price List of numismatic literature can be downloaded in PDF form from our Web site at:

The list includes many items of interest to collectors of colonials and other early American coins. A new list, featuring many rare and out-of-print titles, will be available in February.

Ed Sarrafian [REDACTED] ershye@aol.com

M 61-p "Pluribs" Pleasant VF \$3200

Many tokens currently listed on our web site; our inventory is updated frequently. Please take a look ~ comments and commentary welcome. Always in the market to buy ~ contact me at your convenience.

(b) (6) ~ gary@grollcoins.com ~ www.grollcoins.com

Thanks to an ANS grant I am working on a study of circulating coins and currencies of the French and Indian Wars period (1689-1763). I would be very grateful for information on any American and Canadian metal detector finds dating to this period as well as any coins in collections that have find provenances attached to them. Contact: Oliver D. Hoover, [REDACTED]

Email: oliver.hoover@sympatico.ca

I am interested in acquiring counterstamped Rosa Americana coins or photos of them. Unusual examples from this series are always of interest, including mis-struck examples. I'm also seeking unusual edge markings on Kentucky pieces. Syd Martin: sfmartin5@comcast.net or [REDACTED]

Wanted: Early American communion tokens (for purchase or trade).

Bob Merchant, [REDACTED]

FOR SALE: CD, Special Edition 5.0, High-resolution digital images of my reference collection of Contemporary Counterfeit British & Irish 1/2d & 1/4d, well over 1,000 different specimens. Organized by Major Type, Date and Families where appropriate, with additional material on Major Errors and Die Breaks...\$55 post paid. Registered buyers, if you'd like, will be added to a distribution list that will receive updates by email with images attached of new specimens of major varieties and Families as they are identified. For more information, see http://www.geocities.com/copperclem/Counterfeits_page3.html

Clem Schettino, [REDACTED]

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For Sale or Trade to a Good Home (Prices on Request) – Leo Shane

Email: Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com

Phone:

1787 CT Mi.14-H MBL, Phenoms at date, VF w/planchet striations

1787 CT Mi.32.5-aa DBL, FNDE Rev., VF w/natural planchet defects, R4

1788 CT Mi.16.2-O DBL, INDL Rev, F+ granular, R5

1788 CT Mi.17-Q, DBL, CONNLC Obv, Good, R5

1787 CT Mi.1.1-A Small Head, Nice F 1787 VT Ry.13, Britannia Variety, F

1787 VT Ry.14, MBR, VG,R4

1791 Washington Cent, Large Eagle Rev., XF

1787 Fugio K.19-Z.1, Raised Rim, States United Rev., VG, R5

1775R Half Joe (Peca) 6400 Reis, Rio Brazil, NGC XF-45 (My grade VF30)

[illegible]

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